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Physical Education, Power, and the Cultural Politics of the Young Turkish Body

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Physical Education, Power, and the Cultural Politics of the Young Turkish Body

Elizabeth Molton

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctorate of Education

University of Bath
Department of Education

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ABSTRACT

This research enquiry builds on and contributes to studies in the field of physical education, focusing specifically on pupils' experiences of Year 12 physical education in a private secondary phase school in Turkey. Although there is scholarly work that examines the performance of gender in the physical education curriculum, there is little work attempting to interrogate the relationships between young people's bodies, physicality, and the social landscape of a school. There has been even less work in the cultural context of Turkey that maps the various social forces which guide and determine the participants' own physical education subjectivities. The research enquiry utilises physical cultural studies sensibilities that are based at the borders of inter-locking paradigmatic approaches. I am critically self-reflexive throughout the research enquiry as I represent, articulate, and rework the young people's experiences gleaned from participant observations and interviews. An important finding to emerge from these narratives is the desire to reclaim the fun and play elements in physical education. However, the yearn to have fun in physical education becomes problematic when juxtaposed against the disempowering body practices surrounding engagement in the subject. In fact the workings of the body are afforded only a few positive comments from participants. The engagement of the participants in physical education thus contrasts with the performative and health discourses currently shaping Western physical education policies and curriculum practices. This research enquiry produces value-relevant knowledge to inform scholars and practitioners, aiming at a greater understanding of pupils' experiences of the self, and opens future avenues for discussion when revising physical education policies, curricula, and practices. Furthermore, the research enquiry adds new insights into how the participants negotiate their own physicality and subjectivities in a physical education setting where Eastern and Western cultures meet, intersect, and collide.

CHAPTER ONE ~ INTRODUCTION

1.1 Proem

The time is 11:24 a.m. The long, dark basement corridor adorned with pupils' lockers is devoid of natural light and completely deserted. The corridor that connects the main school buildings is uncannily silent but there is a sense of anticipation. Four tutor groups from Year 12 are expected for their only physical education (PE) class of the week. The bell rings. As if from nowhere, the voices of Turkish speaking pupils start to reverberate along the corridor towards the PE facilities and changing rooms. Pupils exchange school books for PE kit bags. Before the next bell rings the early-birds will start to occupy the small, cramped PE changing rooms. The PE environment soon fills with pupils arriving in various states of readiness. Some pupils are oozing energy and in need of physical activity, while others look drained as if just going through the motions of the weekly grind.

A few Year 12s use the break between classes to purchase a snack from the canteen. They are famished; for many pupils their day started almost six hours ago at 5:45 a.m. and lunch-time is still an hour and a half away. The overpowering aroma of pizza wafts along the corridor as pupils eat enthusiastically. Others grab a chocolate bar and a soft drink for a quick energy fix, grazing on the move.

A second bell rings. Having changed into their PE kit, the early-bird males erupt from the overcrowded changing rooms and make the claustrophobic corridor vibrate with their charged-up energy; energy ready to be 'spent' on the football or basketball court. The pupils immediately look for their PE teacher to quickly mark off their attendance and then stampede to their activity area. Other pupils also change quickly but then, like social butterflies, congregate and dawdle in the corridor near the notice board. In time other pupils emerge looking cold and pale, almost as if they have not seen the warm sun or day-light for days and look seriously sleep deprived. As the

minutes tick by after the official start to the 11:30 a.m. lesson, the stragglers arrive; they have trespassed over the changing time allotted at the start of the lesson.

The early-bird males' PE kit depicts an array of vibrantly coloured football and basketball shirts bearing the name and number of a world-class player. In contrast the stragglers are wearing branded track-suit bottoms and tee-shirts. The females augment their PE kit by wearing school cardigans over lace-edged tops and fashionable Converse trainers instead of sports shoes.

Once attendance is completed, over 60 pupils are scattered around the PE facilities according to the limited options on offer: traditional games, such as football, basketball or volleyball, or individual and paired activities, including health-related exercise, track walking, or racket games.

An hour or so later the lesson draws to a close. The stragglers can be seen waiting expectantly for the changing rooms to be unlocked as the social butterflies return from track walking still deep in conversation. Finally, the early-bird team players slowly drag their 'spent' bodies back to the changing rooms. En-route, bathed in perspiration and soaking wet kit, they besiege the water fountain, hardly able to swallow water quickly enough to quench their thirst.

As the clock nears 13:00 p.m. the PE spaces are empty of Year 12s and the airless basement corridor returns to its previous soul-less state. The only clue to the PE class is the lingering, pungent smell; a blend of perspiration, sweat-soaked clothes, and perfume products. The bell rings to signal lunch break.

Compiled from Field notes, 10-27 September 2007.

1.2 Purpose of Research

The purpose of this research enquiry is to produce contextual knowledge that builds upon and 'counts' towards a deeper understanding of an 'every-day' PE setting in Turkey, where a variety of social forces, body politics, and gendered subjectivities from the East meet with the West. In this project, "a setting is a named context in which phenomena occur that might be studied from any number of angles" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 41) and the expression 'where East meets West,' denotes a setting where cultures intersect and collide.

The PE proem sets the stage for the focus of the research and a framework in which to analyse the complexities of the setting. The research enquiry critically examines PE and sport from the perspective of a group of Year 12 Turkish pupils. The Year 12s became the target group for the research enquiry (instead of the Year 13s) since the Head of Pupil Welfare advised me that the former would be more logistically accessible and available during their penultimate year of schooling. Hilsea School refers to a fictitiously named school in Turkey. It is a mixed, private secondary phase bilingual school. The school (Years 9-13) has an intake of approximately 1,000 pupils and is the equivalent of a secondary phase school in England (Key Stage 3 – Key Stage 5) and a junior/high school in the USA (K8-K12 grade). I have taught at Hilsea School for a number of years.

Hilsea School is one of a group of private secondary phase schools in Turkey. Pupils, who are eligible to go to Hilsea School, and other schools of its calibre, must obtain a very high score on the national test. Pupils who are able to achieve these scores often come from privileged families that are able to afford private tutoring in all subjects. Consequently, the pupil population is primarily upper class and pupils with scholarships are few (20%) in numbers. While socio-economic background and class identification are relevant to any discussion of pupil gendered subjectivities, an in-depth discussion of these

issues is not possible within the scope of this research enquiry. The pupils' background, upbringing, and family life may be more traditional and conventional compared to the educational opportunities and perspectives afforded to them at Hilsea School. Following on from conversations with pupils (Research journal entry, 01 June 2009) it appears that some parents or guardians are only partially buying into the educational opportunities available, especially those involved with enrichment such as overseas trips (see Benn, Pfister and Jawad, 2011).

The intent is to understand how the contextual forces of the 'setting' impacts on the pupils' PE experience. To a great extent, scholarly work concerning PE, gender, and physical culture addresses 'Western education' and is argued from a Western standpoint (Burrows, 2004). This research enquiry offers a different perspective and gives credence to the Turkish participants, their cultures (Kandiyoti and Saktanber, 2002), and previously unheard voices, as a means to better understand their PE experiences.

Guest workers to Turkey, like me, teach alongside Turkish PE teachers to deliver the curriculum at Hilsea School. Traditional team sports played in Turkey are football, volleyball, and basketball and these sports feature heavily in the Hilsea PE curriculum. Newer Western games and pursuits also feature, including Ultimate Frisbee, floorball, badminton, and adventure education. The key point to emphasise is that the research enquiry, through theory and an inductive research approach, will build a contextual understanding of the ways in which the body in PE is shaped, performs, governed, managed, regulated, and used as resistance to certain normalising regimes and discourses.

1.3 Significance of the Research

The research enquiry setting offers a complex array of contextual forces to reconstruct how Year 12s negotiate their own physicality and subjectivity in a PE setting where Eastern and Western cultures meet. PE remains a

compulsory subject for all secondary phase pupils at Hilsea School, but in similar Turkish schools PE has become optional for Years 12 and 13. The Western PE literature also suggests this is an age that pupils, especially females, can become disaffected with PE (see Rich, 2003). What appears most important is to recognise and make sense of PE through the participants that do not have a typical Western background by acknowledging the 'glocal' context. There is limited academic research on Sport (and PE) in Turkey (see Akin, 2004). The research enquiry allows for the mapping of pupils' experiences in PE to be illuminated and offers a different perspective, one that is not typically Western. In addition I examine "how paying attention to the body can inform and disrupt current practices in physical and health education" (van Ingen and Sykes, 2003, p. 2), since PE is the only subject in schooling that specifically focuses on the body.

Sports and PE in Turkey have drawn scant attention from historic and academic scholars because the subject is regarded as isolated and an independent strand of the nation's culture and social being (see Akin, 2003). I observe that the participants use the term sport(s) rather than PE in their narratives and that in Turkey a type of sport is referred to as a 'branch.' Sfeir (1985) notes, the terms PE and sport are often used interchangeably. Hardman and Marshall (2005) decided to use 'PE' to embrace all physical activity terminology. Nevertheless, in this research enquiry a distinction will be made between PE, sport, and the enrichment programme activities, since the experience of PE can be vastly different compared to sport and physical activity opportunities outside of the school PE setting (see Flintoff and Scraton, 2001).

In this research enquiry, the physical body becomes central because it is experienced in PE and sport as a regulated, non-feeling "body as a machine" (Foucault, 1977a). In this regard PE can be considered as a body technology (Danaher, Schiroto and Webb, 2000). Indeed, an important finding to emerge from study of the Year 12s is an emphasis on 'fun' and 'play' in PE despite a lack of sensual pleasure or sensations expressed through their experiences. This suggests a reaction by the participants to governance, and PE is

another space in which the body is disciplined, managed, and regulated in relation to Foucault's (1988b) workings of power and the self. The engagement of Year 12s in PE at Hilsea thus appears to contrast with the performative and health discourses currently shaping Western PE policies and curriculum practices (see Murray, 2008; Pronger, 2002).

The data collected will allow me to explicate a deep contextual knowledge of the setting, and in doing so, the research enquiry can inform scholarly knowledge and new value-relevant knowledge used to help shape research and debates, and reflect on current PE policies, curriculum, and practices. For example, the workings of power in relation to physicality, the performance of gender, and sexual inequalities that expose instances of social injustice (Andrews, 2008).

1.4 Contextual Features of the Research Enquiry

The contextual features of the PE research enquiry setting can be better understood through the historical, secular, religious, socio-economic, cultural, educational, and political forces of Turkey and their potential impact on the Year 12 PE experience at Hilsea School. Turkey is arguably in a stage of flux, especially since its application to accede to the European Union. Turkey's candidacy began in 1999, but the country's full membership negotiations, which began in 2005, place Turkey in the international and European bull-ring due to other member country's reservations. For instance, Turkey is struggling with points of tension for European Union accession that involve human rights issues in education equality, democracy, the penal system, discrimination, and segregation. The contrasting geographical settings and socio-economic climate of Turkey also compounds to the sense of cultural flux (Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, May 2009).

Modern Turkey encompasses bustling cosmopolitan centers, pastoral farming villages, barren wastelands, peaceful Aegean coastlines, and steep mountain regions. More than 70% of

Turkey's population lives in urban areas that juxtapose Western lifestyles with more traditional ways of life (Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, May 2009).

An integral aspect of Turkish culture is the influence of every day religious practices, as almost all the Turkish population is Muslim. Muslim life is regulated through time and sacred spaces (see Foucault, 1986) by the aural call for prayer five times a day from every 'village' mosque and the minarets punctuating the sky line. The regulatory daily call for prayer time can be described as a form of cultural 'bodily knowledge' (see Delaney, 1990, p. 516) and further, Turkish body culture is practiced in traditional customs such as whirling dervishes [*Turkish Mevlevî*] and Turkish oil wrestling (*yağlı güreş*). Body knowledge helps to construct ways of knowing and regulating the meaning of "our bodily being-in-the-world" (Murray, 2008, p. 32). Significantly, all of the above cultural practices are "rich in their gender aspects" (see Eichberg, 1998b, p. 137). Furthermore, Delaney (1994, p. 169) links signifiers of faith with gendered subjectivities and the body:

[n]otions of gender are deeply entangled with meanings of hair in Turkish society [...] whether women wear the scarf or not, whether we are covered or uncovered, we are still being defined by our bodies in ways that men are not.

The contextual features of the research enquiry setting owe much to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (09 May 1881–10 November 1938), founder of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Atatürk implemented many reforms to modernise, Westernise, and secularise Turkey including the Turkish Alphabet. Atatürk is portrayed throughout Turkish society and within every school through prolific sculptures and photographs depicting his life. Even today, "Atatürk still keeps his citizens under surveillance through the millions of painted and sculpted busts that decorate public spaces throughout the country" (Özyürek, 2004, p. 386) and, in doing so, highlights the significance of the authoritative gaze (see Foucault, 1977a). Özyürek (2004, p. 386) concludes that the almost

constant gaze of this most revered person's face "helps to depersonalize the real officials who carry out the regulations."

1.4.1 – Eastern and Western Cultures Meet, Intersect and Collide

The vastness of Turkish society that spans from Asia in the East to Europe in the West demonstrates a range of traditional and conservative practices alongside more Western ideals and lifestyles through the global cosmopolitanism observed in the urban cities and coastal regions (see Catterall, 2011; Rumsford, 2003). For example, whilst women are observed wearing European clothing, driving 4x4 vehicles, and aspiring to a Western lifestyle, this is juxtaposed with the observance of many women wearing headscarves. This is significant since it is estimated that at least 60% of Turkish women cover their heads and "[n]ow, for the first time, almost all universities across Turkey have abandoned the official prohibition on women wearing headscarves" (Head, 2010).

1.4.2 – Education in Turkey

The value and cultural importance given to education in Turkey, for the most part, cannot be understated. After the Republic of Turkey was formed, Atatürk's six guiding principles: Republicanism, Secularism, Active Neutrality, Revolutionarism, Nationalism, and Statism (Atakav, 2007, p. 17), resulted in laws specifically implemented for women, such as equal rights, opportunities to vote, and entry to parliament. In fact, through the enactment and implementation of the Law of Unification of Education in 1924, education in Turkey is still valued as a social change agent and an avenue of mobility (Acar and Ayata, 2002, p. 105). As Demir (2007, p. 100) explains, positive:

attitudes towards education and schooling are related to the value Turkish society assigns to education. [...] Within the context of

modernization, Turkish people have come to idolize education for its promise of upward social mobility.

But, Smits and Hoşgör's (2006, p. 547) research in Turkey cautions that "the infrastructure problems in the educational system create polarization and inequalities" that appears to impact most upon girls. For example, as a report by the European Parliament comments:

[p]arliament expresses concern about the Commission's observation that women remain vulnerable to discriminatory practices in Turkey, due inter alia to a lack of education and a high illiteracy rate UNICEF estimates that each year between 600,000 and 800,000 girls are either prevented by their families from going to school or do not attend it because of logistical difficulties (Press Release: Women's rights in Turkey, 2007).

During 'the period of Liberal enlightenment' Atatürk advocated a fair and equal status for women in the newly formed Republic of Turkey. Fifty years later Taşkiran (1976, p. 96) comments that generational discourses as in the "old customs and traditions still hold sway over areas, and greatly influence the attitudes of men towards women, the behavior of women towards men and the self-esteem of the women themselves." It is noted that during the twentieth century many strides have been made for women in Turkey, but the social situation of women in Turkish society is still hotly debated today (Koca and Hocisoğlu, 2011; Rainsford, 2007; World Economic Forum, 2013).

1.4.3 – Hilsea School

Culture can be understood to operate on many levels including national, monoculture, and sub-cultures, and transmitted through "class, gender, race, sexuality, age, ethnicity, community" (Frow and Morris, 2000, p. 317). Since Hilsea attracts pupils from all corners of Turkey, the pupil demography is quite diverse and many pupils can only attend Hilsea through scholarship

funding and bursaries. The information of scholarship recipients is confidential and other school practices are deployed to offset those pupils who are socio-economically disadvantaged. Following Frow and Morris (2000, p. 316) I regard culture as “a network of embedded practices and representations (texts, images, talk, codes of behavior, and the narrative structures organizing these) that shapes every aspect of social life.” Culture is important in this research enquiry since as a guest worker I need to be sensitive to ethnicity issues (Daloğlu, 2007) and ‘subcultures’ (Hofstede, 1980) at Hilsea School, as “there can be as much variety within national groups as between them” (Allan, 2000). Hilsea School maintains a strong sense of cultural identity, and as a guest worker central to developing a cultural awareness and sensitivity, I learn about “the way we do things around here” (Deal and Kennedy, 1983). For example, in keeping with all other Turkish schools, each week starts and ends with a ‘flag ceremony’ and the singing of the national anthem. National holidays are also celebrated with school assemblies e.g. 23rd April (National Sovereignty Day) and 19th May (Youth and Sports Day).

1.4.4 – Physical Education in Turkey

Turkish schools are classified as government (neighbourhood) and private schools; Hilsea School is a private secondary phase school. Public secondary phase schools are mixed, unless they are a vocational or religious school where they are single-gender. In 2007 the Ministry *Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Talim Terbiye* (Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education - known as the MEB) introduced a new standardised PE national curriculum (ages 6–18) that all schools are expected to deliver. Ages 7–11 are expected to receive one hour of PE, pupils aged 12-14: two hours, and secondary school pupils: 40 minutes per week. The former MEB PE curriculum (1995) relied heavily upon a traditional ‘old’ cocktail of competitive sports and team games (Koca, Aşçı, and Kirazcı, 2005). Post Atatürk PE, in the newly formed Republic of Turkey, included formalised and disciplined school activities such as Swedish ‘Calisthenics’ and marching (see appendix one). Koca and

Hacısoftaoğlu (2011, p. 157), note “the former physical education programme is still being used in many schools” and that “there are substantial discrepancies in the implementation and contents” of the MEB (2007) PE standardised guidelines. They argue that, “[i]n accordance with Turkish secularism, coeducation in physical education is the norm for all grades. However, in many (especially private) schools, boys and girls are segregated in grades 6 to 8” (Koca and Hacısoftaoğlu, 2011, p. 157). Similarly, due to timetabling and staffing constraints, PE at Hilsea is taught in single-gender classes in Years 8–10, and remains an 80-minute per week lesson for all pupils through the secondary age phase.

In light of the multiple and potentially competing contextual features of the research enquiry’s setting mentioned above, I decided to deploy physical cultural studies sensibilities as the theoretical/methodological approach to investigate the Year 12 PE experiences at Hilsea School, and as a means to explicate the data.

1.5 Structure of the Research Enquiry

A central tenet of this research enquiry is theorising the human body in relation to multiple performances and readings of masculinity and femininity during PE. Significantly, in the 1980s, a re-ascendancy of the body emerged when “the absent body” (Loy, 1991) was brought “back in” (Frank, 1990), thus re-dressing the balance to include not just sport but other forms of physical culture to the sociology of sport research. The work of Michel Foucault (1926-1984), became important as an explanatory framework for deciphering the relations of power and discipline with the body and how they act as regulators upon a “subject” within society (Foucault, 1977a). For example, Foucault (1977a) analysed the workings of power through visibility and the use of the gaze within society.

Chapter two sets out the theoretical framework of the research in regard to “doing Foucault” (Ball, 2013). The chapter will define, critically discuss,

analyse, and fully discuss the key terms from Foucault's conceptual tool-box, namely: power-knowledge, discourse, governmentality, and the technology of domination, bio-power, normalisation, regimes of truth, and ritual.

Following a critical examination of the methodological framework in chapter three, I represent, critique, and rework the participants' experiences and ideas in four themed chapters.

The first theme (chapter four) offers a wide angle and panoramic view of the global prominence and popularity given to football and how the game has evolved and become embedded in Turkish culture. Football is then examined through a Foucauldian lens and the governance of the Turkish male in the PE curriculum (see Atencio and Koca, 2011).

The second theme (chapter five) addresses how pupils at Hilsea negotiate the performance of gender in PE. The chapter maps the issues that surround mixed PE activities, PE kit, and gendered normalising practices in respect to Foucault's notions of technologies of the body.

Building on chapter five, chapter six critically maps how everyday PE practices and rituals (Douglas, 1966) which are inherent in the subject, such as changing in and out of PE kit and being physically active and perspiring, can seriously counter the effects of a more informal PE curriculum in Year 12.

The final theme, in chapter seven, illuminates how the body is disciplined and negotiated in Hilsea's PE spaces through the workings of the gaze (Foucault, 1977a) and subsequently surveillance 'assemblage' and 'rhizomatism' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000).

1.6 Concluding Comments

In summary, the research enquiry examines and critiques ordinary, everyday PE experiences through the participants' perceptions, voices, and narratives to

rework the data - descriptive texts, literature, and theory, to make it socially meaningful. Culture, PE, sport, gender, and the body are key words to ground and contextualise this research enquiry. The contributions of the focus groups and participants are invaluable and it is my aspiration to do justice to their PE experiences. As a researcher and practitioner, the research enquiry provides a significant opportunity for professional and personal development as well as an extended project of learning and discovery. Significantly, I have critically reflected on my own core values, biases, and praxes.

Following these brief introductory comments, chapter two examines the theoretical framework of the research enquiry in regards to Foucault's conceptual tool-box.

CHAPTER TWO ~ DOING FOUCAULT: FRAMING THE RESEARCH

“sport [...] lends itself to a Foucaultian analysis” (Andrews 1993, p. 149).

2.1 Introduction

The constructs of physical education, cultural politics, and the young Turkish body provide the conceptual boundaries of action surrounding my area of research. Establishing a theoretical framework compliments an inductive research approach and would enable me to shed light on the data collected. The intent was to work with Foucault to grow or theorise out from the data collected, rather than generalise, to generate contextual knowledge, knowledge interest, and a deeper understanding about PE and the human body in a mixed secondary phase school. My research aim was to provide a ‘thick description’ of an everyday school setting and in so doing, “offer a starting point for future research” (Plymire, 2005, p. 147).

Since I started teaching PE, education has seen rapid changes and advancements in pedagogy, learning, subject knowledge, and technology, alongside the maturation rates of pupils, factors that are all geared to provide pupils with an education for 21st Century living. Graber’s (2001) comprehensive research into teaching physical education concluded that pupils’ knowledge contents “remains largely unknown” and in regard to learning, that pupils “misconceive physical education content” (Graber, 2001, p. 507). Now, as I teach PE in a non-Western, Turkish, Muslim, and bicultural setting, my own school raises context specific research questions:

- What are the perceptions and experiences of the Year 12s in terms of Hilsea’s PE curriculum?

- How do Year 12s at a high achieving secondary phase school receive and manage compulsory PE?
- In what ways do the PE policies, practices, and cultural politics that operate at Hilsea School impact upon the learning environment?
- What lessons can be learnt in regard to the notions of social justice or betterment?

The theorisation of the everyday PE and life experiences of the young Turks drives this research. Drawing heavily from the seminal works of Foucault, the following chapter will unpack a typical PE lesson. Foucault provides an important theoretical tool and mode of analysis in understanding and developing knowledge surrounding his notions of power-knowledge, discourse, normalisation, and subjectivities in relation to exploring the questions posed above. Foucault's published texts, *Discipline and Punish* (1977a) and *The History of Sexuality* (1979) theorised about the relations of power and becoming a functioning human being in society. His notion of disciplinary power offered a base in which to make sense of the unique Turkish school setting and to determine the socio-cultural forces exerted upon the Year 12 physical active body during PE. The expositions from these two works were expanded upon through Foucault's *Lectures at the Collège de France* (1975-1982).

Foucault's thinking can be broken down into three distinct phases of analysis, loosely defined as the archaeology of knowledge (1960s), genealogy of power (1970s), and ethics of the self (1980s). Foucault created a conceptual tool-box to study the relationship between the analysis of knowledge (truth), power (governance), and the self (subject), which were all closely interrelated "without ever reducing one to the other" (Foucault, cited by Flynn, 2005, p. 262). Foucault looked at historical problems, asked why they were problematic and then looked for causality and resolution. Foucault's intention was for others to take his theoretical tool box and apply his concepts practically by "doing Foucault" (Ball, 2013) in order to answer their own questions, problems, and ideas.

Interestingly, O'Farrell (2005) took Foucault's conceptual tool-box of analysis and divided his writings into the following five guiding principles:

1. Order and disorder (i.e. subjects [individuals] with mental capacity and those without)
2. History (archaeology) that highlighted difference as well as how moments in history were not perpetuated
3. Truth-claims (i.e. knowledge)
4. Power
5. Ethics – (i.e. social justice and betterment)

O'Farrell (2005, p. 56) suggests, "there are any number of different ways of ordering experience and knowledge. Every existing order in culture, society, and knowledge is limited, and alternative orders are always possible." The ordering of my research enquiry is focused around my boundaries of action and subsequently four themed chapters emerged (see chapters four to seven), each exposing different relations of power forwarded by Foucault. To shed light on these four themed chapters, key Foucauldian concepts will be introduced, discussed, and synthesised, namely: power- power-knowledge, discourse and the subject, cultural politics- governmentality and the technology of domination, and PE and the body: bio-power, normalisation, regimes of truth, and ritual. Furthermore, to help utilise Foucault's concepts, I will draw upon PE and sports literature, together with my own PE subjectivities.

As Allen (2012) advocates, using Foucault as a theoretical framework requires a stepping back from my own understandings of PE and necessitates that I instead sit alongside the pupils, to empathise with their own subjectivities and life experience of PE and sport. Peters and Besley (2007, p. 2) propose that, "Foucault needs be written for specific countries, locations and disciplines" and this is essentially my challenge.

2.2. Power: Power-knowledge, Discourse, and the Subject

“Power is not an institution, and not a structure, neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society” (Foucault, 1979, p. 93). From the outset, Foucault (1977a, p. 26) clearly states, “[p]ower is exercised rather than possessed.” In this regard Foucault (1982, p. 220) explains:

what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on existing actions or on those which may arise in the present or the future.

In accordance with Foucault, I understand power to be ubiquitous and in a constant state of ebb and flow. The way the net-like matrices of power ebb and flow all depend upon how the various social forces and game changers interplay within Hilsea School, in conjunction with the dominant discourses vying with one another. Furthermore, the dispersion of power is “always local and unstable” (Foucault, 1979, p. 93; Kendall and Wickham, 1999).

Equally important to stress, is that Foucault regularly joined together the power-knowledge (*pouvoir-savoir*) concepts because much of his work examined the relations of power and how knowledge within the socio-cultural histories were formed. Power is strategic since it emanates from the “‘local centers’ of power-knowledge” (Foucault, 1979, p. 98) of a society (e.g. families, institutions, groups) and runs “through the social body as a whole” (Foucault, 1979, p. 94). ‘Knowledges’ develop in and through institutions such as schools, prisons, and hospitals. The effect of the power-knowledge relations within an institution could only be felt and realised if an individual subject was part of the process, culminating in how a subject comes to know about different forms of society, be they education, deviance, or health.

An assumed (agreed) degree of social control between teachers and pupils is necessary in schools if a cultural practice of learning is to be fostered.

Without this operation of power to produce compliant and docile bodies in school, it would be difficult for learning to take place. From learning comes new knowledge, and armed with this knowledge pupils can engage actively with the knowledge and in the discussions and discourses circulating in the various academic subjects.

Teachers, as experts, use academic subject discourses to transmit and impart knowledge that conveys power relations over their pupils. Foucault (1972, p. 107) introduced discourse to be “constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that... can be assigned particular modalities of existence.” In the same text, he described discourse as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak [...] a [...] way of speaking” (Foucault, 1972, p. 49; p. 193). Danaher *et al.*, (2000, p. 31) confirms, “discourses can be understood as language in action: they are the windows [...] which allow us to make sense of, and ‘see’ things.” Discourses manifest themselves through favourable conditions or statements that are deemed to represent the truth. Discourses frame society because they compete with each other and certain discourses will become dominant as different subjective ways of speaking, or giving and receiving knowledge, compete. Mills (2003, p. 55) offers, “[d]iscourse should be seen as a system which structures the way we perceive reality.” Experts in a field possess expert ‘knowledges’ and espouse the discourses regarded to be true in that subject. A key to understanding Foucault’s concept of discourse is that discourses are a regulatory mechanism since they operate in relations of power. Foucault (1972, p. 80) purports:

instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word ‘discourse,’ I believe that I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements.

A number of educationalists, and sport and PE scholars offer insights into how different gendered and health discourses operate on pupils bodies, for example, Azzarito (2009), Ball (2013), Evans, Rich, Davies and Allwood (2008) and Kenway and Bullen (2011). The policies and practices of Hilsea's PE department arguably set the boundaries between the relations of power-knowledge and discourses through the curriculum, PE kit, ways of assessment, and how pupils then negotiate physicality, normalising practices, subjective gendered performances, and the body in lessons. In a bilingual setting, such as Hilsea School, discourse becomes more complex and nuanced when teaching second language learners. Teacher's expressions, use of language, and the meaning given to language can influence the learning situation and pupil's learning. For example, the way discourse is delivered by an overseas teacher and the content expressed can cause access issues and can result in pupils feeling either included or excluded.

In the relations of power operating in schools, Allen (2012) speaks about the coercion between the teacher and pupil. Teachers know the school rules and lay down the expectations required of their pupils in each subject, and the pupils learn from each teacher and each other how far they can push those boundaries. At Hilsea School, the Year 12 PE curriculum has set new expectations and boundaries for the pupils, since the disciplinary discourse espoused a less structured lesson format and the introduction of restricted PE options. The generational PE discourses projected by pupil talk may interpret the subject differently and identify different power relations (discipline, rules, and expectations) compared to other school subjects. The relations of power may appear blurred or more evenly dispersed between the teachers and pupils. Foucault spoke of a school being a democracy and running along egalitarian lines, but reality suggests a darker side when pupils' subjective ways of being are channelled along making the right choice from a very limited set of acceptable options (Allen, 2012). I ponder, therefore, how do the Year 12s define subjective ways of being during PE lessons?

Bound up with the concepts of the power-knowledge-discourse operating in schools are the pupils and how these relations of power are applied and “act upon their actions” (Foucault, 1982, p. 220) and “makes individuals subjects” (Foucault, 1982, p. 212). School settings produce and maintain generational discourses that create, validate, and exclude those subjects who have the right to speak (Ball, 1990). In schools, the relations of power underpin the curriculum content and the boundaries between subject matter, and determine what knowledge is taught, how, when, and equally, what is left out. The concepts (truths) taught in schools, within the bounds of different subject matter (expert knowledge, ‘believed’ to be true), give pupils access to higher forms of thought, but in doing so pupils have to also learn to think like the school. Pupils at Hilsea School, for example, have to follow the knowledge and concepts (truth) espoused through the curriculum and different subject matter of this particular institution. The power-knowledge relation becomes exposed because, “in it are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 184).

The nexus of Foucault’s power-knowledge-discourse and the self will also unfold through my methodological choices and boundaries of action. For example, in deciding to undertake research as an “insider-outsider” or “the space between” researcher (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Kerstetter, 2012; Paechter, 2012; Woodward, 2008) this choice is likely to affect the relations of power between the participants and myself, depending on how they perceive my role. The intent of my enquiry is for the participants’ voices to be centre stage, and in the sense of dispersing the teacher-pupil power relation, to provide a space to celebrate or problematise PE. The participants can put topics on the agenda and make them visual since, “Foucault believed that change is possible at levels and in places that we take for granted” (Allen, 2012). Harnessing Youdell (2006, p. 180), the diffusion in the relations of power makes the participants “something, or someone, they were not before” by allowing any concerns surrounding social injustice, inequality, or a

sense of betterment to be raised. My intent as a researcher, rather than a teacher, was to establish a rapport with the participants so that the rarely uttered discourses surrounding body-work images could be voiced and discussed. This links into the hidden curriculum and sub-text of the pupils' social relations and practices surrounding gendered and sexual subjectivity issues in school and during PE (Bain, 1990; Connell, 1989; Wang, 1977).

Discourses would be revealed through the data collection and how the participant's subjectivities are constructed and represented in PE. As an example, the literature highlights the power-knowledge relation of the PE and sport discourses circulating in Turkish culture that draw attention to the construction of gendered subjectivities, gender inequities, and concerns towards the gender appropriateness of certain competitive sports (Atencio and Koca, 2011; Koca and Hacısoftaoğlu, 2011). These findings raise questions in my own context dependent research, as to whether certain constructions of masculine and feminine subjectivities will emerge. For instance, do males dominate mixed PE lessons? How do the participants perceive the gender appropriateness of certain sports such as football and basketball?

Not only does Foucault provide the foundation for making sense of the workings of power within the setting through his concepts of power-knowledge and discourse, he also offers a guide to understanding analytical power.

2.3. Cultural Politics: Governmentality and the Technology of Dominance

As mentioned in the introduction in chapter one, cultural politics play a defining role in understanding Turkey and how a society controls and manages issues surrounding religion, gender, ethnicity, education, and sexuality diversity. According to Markula and Pringle (2006, p. 16) disciplinary power, "is exercised over all citizens in contemporary societies."

Equally important, in this study is to unpack the localised dimensions of the school setting and consider how cultural politics impact the educational practices in relation to the curriculum and PE.

A society refers to a population living in a clearly defined geographical space, with shared cultural beliefs and where a subject has been brought up or spends their time. Discourses help to define a society and how it is shaped, understood, and lived. Culture gives meaning to the ways in which subjects relate and interact within society. Foucault (2001, p. 173) describes culture as, “a hierarchical organization of values, accessible to everybody, but at the same time the occasion of a mechanism of selection and exclusion.”

Selection and exclusion is likely to operate daily on, and through, the body in PE at Hilsea School. Foucault (1977a) highlighted the ways subjects are classified according to the normalising practices in operation, and this sets up dividing practices or forms of exclusion. In the PE lesson and sports arena selection and exclusion can occur in different ways - through the social, the physical, and on the body (Fitzclarence and Hickey, 2001; Shogan, 1999; Sibley, 1995).

Foucault's theoretical explorations were centred on understanding society in terms of his notions of governmentality (or governance), discipline and technologies of the self (Danaher, *et al.*, 2000; Kendall and Wickham, 1999; Pringle and Markula, 2005). Foucault introduced the concept of governmentality, that he later described as, “that rather nasty word” (Foucault, 2004, p. 119) and technologies to help understand the relations of power working within a society. Governmentality describes a method of managing a population through ‘technologies’ first adopted in the eighteenth century, but is not just an analysis of those who govern a society. It also represents how a subject, family, or group within a population is guided to govern oneself in their subjected ways of thinking and doing (Foucault, 1991a). Later, Foucault used the concept to further describe, “the way in which the modern state began to worry about individuals” (Foucault, 1991b, p. 4, cited by Miller, 2009, p. 183). For example, Baker (1998, p. 132) draws attention to the notion that, “[t]he art of governing required a kind of

‘governmentality’ related to that of the state as a definer, watcher, and manager of difference.”

Difference can exist in many forms within a population or a society i.e. health, welfare, security, and the environment but often deals with life or death (Foucault 1991b, cited by Miller, 2009). Governance shapes and guides a society, provides stability and the means for a subject to govern oneself and their family. As a result, a major undertaking of governmentality addressed the health and physical well-being of the population (Foucault, 2003). The State started to invest in the population and a subject as a safeguard against the threat of war, disease, and for keeping the country economically viable. For example, in Turkey during the Age of Enlightenment, it was the upper classes that had access to sport. The working classes were mobilised, but the prime aim was to keep the workforce fit, productive, and disciplined.

The technologies of governmentality were developed to manage a population. This was a more effective mechanism, since this style of governance no longer extolled the practices of force, punishment, or oppression as the first means of control. Instead, the deployment of disciplinary technologies had the effect of diffusing top-down State control towards a sense of individualisation, self-regulation, and control. Miller (2009, p. 185) interpreted a technology to mean, “[a] matrix of popular reason.” According to Foucault (1977a) a subject learns self-regulation through the diffusion of various disciplinary techniques deployed to control, guide, and regulate a population. Foucault (2001, pp. 241-242) details how State or political power was gradually replaced by another form of governance: “governmentality [...] relations of power/governmentality/government of self and others/the relation of the self to the self, all of this constitutes a chain, a thread...” Later, Foucault (1988b) declared that technologies offered an individual the means to transform, a transformation made possible on a daily basis (Markula, 2003). Chapman (1997) puts forward the notion that technologies are cultural, serving only as a reflection of the representations portrayed by a particular society. For Foucault, the State and society co-exist.

In a context-dependent setting, a visitor to Turkey would be hard pushed to miss the lasting legacy of *Atatürk* (Özyürek, 2004). In some way, a sense of governmentality still prevails in the country and in doing so, limits the repertoire of technologies in operation. For example, schools continue to be a site of governance of young people, since education (knowledge) and ‘truths’ remain unchallenged. Secondly, in terms of governance and the State, military service or conscription in Turkey is compulsory (there are certain exemptions) for all male citizens aged between 20 and 41 and considered by many Turks to be a rite of passage into manhood on completion (Enginsoy, 2010). In terms of governance, the Turkish government has tight control over digital, technological, and social media communication sites. Ball (2002; 2005) identifies three forms of surveillance used to acquire certain knowledge, information, or to protect a subject or society from a perceived threat. Consequently, the multiple nature of surveillance connects “to an underlying, invisible infrastructure, which concerns interconnected technologies in multiple contexts” (Ball, 2005, p. 94). The data collected may give an insight into the impact of how governmentality is experienced at Hilsea School?

The young Turkish subjected and gendered body denotes that of the consumer and of the producer through the uptake of digital technologies, social media network sites, and market brands that occupy the body. Ritzer (2014, p. 3) conjoined the words of production and consumption into prosumption, referring to, “the interrelated process of production and consumption,” (market place and digital world). The phrase prosumers predominantly refers to what prosumers do when using digital technologies and social media network sites. Young people as prosumers also raise concerns over their social, academic, public, and privacy bio-data issues such as “flesh-technology-information” (Haraway, 1991) both at a local and a global level (Ball, 2005; Green, 2010). Technological surveillances and the advancements in cyberspace have surpassed Foucault’s theorisation of the Panopticon in terms of more sophisticated forms of modern surveillance,

power, and social control on the body and their dispersion (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000; Latour, 2005).

Atatürk still influences Turkey through his six guiding principles including secularism. Young people learn about themselves and their cultural subjective citizenship through their relationship between their home and school environments, alongside the view of the world they encounter from digital technologies, social media platforms, and gaming technologies that educate and connect them socially (Lenhart, 2008). This can create different subjected ways of being and agency, since what is acceptable in one sphere of influence may be viewed with uncertainty in another (see Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, May 2009). For example, facial hair or head coverings are not permitted locally in Hilsea School, but outside the boundaries of the school, they may be worn to convey a moral or political belief (Sariisik, 2013). Individualisation becomes lost within such constraints of institutional and the Turkish Ministry MEB (Ministry of National Education) power. Hilsea's School curriculum is also regulated by the Ministry MEB, suggesting that the Government still models and shapes school policies and curriculum content.

Whilst exploring the relations of power, the term dominance is associated with the concepts of knowledge-power, discourse, normalisation, technologies, and governance. The cultural politics and social forces that operate within a society all have an impact upon an individual's way of being. Dominance can only take hold under certain conditions. For example, the relations of knowledge-power, discourse, and the self can create forms of domination, i.e. through institutions such as schools, hospitals, and prisons. Whilst discourses can constrain groups within a society by limiting perceptions and subjective ways of being, it is equally important to recognise that power is productive and discourses are productive (Kendall and Wickham, 1999). Discourses can be resisted and challenged and as Foucault (1979, p. 101) argues:

discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance, and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.

Dominant discourses and technologies of domination can therefore be resisted, and where there is resistance there is creativity (truth-games).

When there is action upon action, power can be productive, but without that, if power only flows one way it instead creates dominance over others. The political and social constructions of major dominations come into operation when there is an unquestioned belief in a knowledge, discourse, or technology as true. In doing so, it “forms a general line of force that traverses the local oppositions and links them together” (Foucault, 1979, p. 94). It remains unchallenged because the relations of power do not allow other knowledges, discourses, or technologies to come to the fore and question its status. Instead, when major dominations prevail within a society, the line of political and social forces will instead try to change the individual or group resisting “the grip it has on them”, because “the effects of domination are attributed [...] to dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings...” (Foucault, 1977a, pp. 26-27).

The game of football in Turkey appears to have a grip on society and the local populations, exercised by the institutions that control the economic funding of sport and the media (Jacobs, 2010; Kozanoglu, 1999). In supporting football as an example of a dominating force within a society, Foer (2006, p. 4) explains, “[o]f course, soccer isn’t the same as Bach or Buddhism. But it is often more deeply felt than religion, and just as much a part of the community’s fabric, a repository of traditions.” Foucault portrayed states of domination to mean:

[o]ne sometimes encounters what may be called situations or states of domination in which the power relations, instead of being mobile, allowing the various participants to adopt strategies modifying them, remain blocked, frozen. When an individual or social group succeeds in blocking a field of power relations, immobilizing them and preventing any reversibility of movement by economic, political, or military means, one is faced with what may be called a state of domination (Foucault, 1997, p. 283).

Here Foucault appears to be linking governance and how a state of domination can exist within a society, social groups, and sub-cultures. The relations of power-knowledge can become dominant and subsequently immobilise a society or subjective ways of being because “actions become static and predictable” (Butin, 2001, p. 165) as opposed to local and unstable. In the case of football, Foer (2006, p. 5) observed, “I kept noticing the ways that globalization had failed to diminish the game’s local cultures, local blood feuds, and even local corruption.” Relating governance and sport within a society, sport operates at a social and political level, acting as a social regulator and a form of control (Barker-Ruchti and Tinning, 2010). In doing so, when sport enters the political arena and becomes centre stage (i.e. Olympic bids, FIFA World Cups), it becomes a site of dominance (Foucault, 1988b; Pringle and Markula, 2005).

According to Barker-Ruchti and Tinning (2010, p. 231), “[t]echnologies of dominance involve modes of objectification that classify, discipline and normalize individuals without them having much control over these processes.” These processes are relentless, since they are occurring daily. For example, the way in which sport is reported and regulated on the constantly technological advancing digital and social media sites (Laird, 2012). Miller (2009, p. 190) surmises, “the notion of sport as a technique of the self that is equally a technique of domination makes sense.”

Within the confines of the PE classroom, modes of objectification (discipline, classification, and normalisation) become localised and are exercised on the pupil population through the relations of power-knowledge and dominating discourses that circulate about gendered subjectivities, bodyworks, and the performative nature of PE. Through the operations of discipline, classification, and normalisation, does PE at Hilsea School produce active or docile bodies? How are subjective gendered performances managed?

The relations of power can be understood to mean how an individual comes to know and conduct the self whilst trying to determine the actions and ways of others in society (Foucault, 1988b, p. 18). For power relations not to become imbalanced, an individual needs to be aware of the communication channels, the 'rules' and how they are managed and understand, "the ethics, the *ethos*, the practice of self, which would allow these games of power to be played with a minimum of domination Foucault" (1988b, p. 18, emphasis in original).

In addressing my own research, I hope to uncover and examine the prevalent discourses and technologies of domination that are operating at Hilsea School. This opens up further analysis into how certain forms of governance in PE are resisted by the pupils.

2.4. Physical Education and the Body: Bio-power, Normalisation, Regimes of Truth and Ritual

The focus on educating the physically active body, rather than just the mind, places PE in a unique position in the school curriculum. Foucault (1980) used the concept of bio-power (power over the body) to describe how State power became diffused through technologies of the self, whilst still controlling and managing a population in society. Governmentality replaced State control, in the sense of top-down power, and instead, through different technologies, allowed subjective ways of being and an individual to exercise certain freedoms. In this regard, bio-power "focused and worked on the human body through, those continuous and uninterrupted processes which subject our

bodies, govern our gestures, dictate our behaviours” (Foucault, 1980, p. 97). The technology of bio-power created power over the body, not by force or punishment, but through an individual sense of self-improvement and betterment. Bio-power brought ways of being into the field of explicit design and made the relations of knowledge-power a means to transform subjects (Foucault, 1979; 1991a). In schools, an understanding of bio-power contributes to the ways in which pupils perceive and manage the body.

Bio-power helps to explain ways in which world knowledge about the workings of the human body enhancements are influenced by advancements in bio-medical science and health and fitness products e.g., slimming supplements, cosmetic surgery, body-building supplements (see Miller, 2009). Such interventions in modern society help to produce and maintain “self-regulating subjects” (Rabinow and Rose, 2003). Conversely, the same advancements in pharmaceutical research and biomedical science are used to enhance sports performance and mask the consumption of banned substances (Miller, 2009). Turkish sports have been embroiled in such practices. At a global level, there is a tension between the discursive practices and power-knowledge relations surrounding bio-power and control over the body because of bio-ethical diversity, unregulated practices, and economic gain. For example, a tension exists between how scientific knowledge and biomedical advancements are being used at many levels on the body i.e. *in vitro* fertilisation and screening, stem cell research, and euthanasia.

In Foucauldian terms, bio-power took the human body as its form of knowledge. The body became an object to be measured, regulated, and controlled to maximise a society’s human resources. These measurements were mechanisms to identify normal, fit, and healthy individuals and in the process differentiate against those members of society to be excluded. The physically active body acts as an anchor point for my enquiry since the human body is central to PE and likewise; physicality, body image, and body-work issues all take centre stage during adolescence. Shilling (2003) states that the human body is the central focus of discursive practices in schools because, “the *moving, managed and disciplined* body, and not just the

speaking and listening body, is central to the daily business of schooling” (Shilling, 2003, p. 19, emphasis in original). Discourses surrounding bodily knowledge become heightened since “the body is not only a location for social classifications but is actually *generative* of social relations and human knowledge” (Shilling, 2003, p. ix, emphasis in original). Andrews (1993, p. 158) explains how a pupil might experience the acuteness of physicality as, “the multifarious discourses that normalize bodily existence, is formed and recognized by himself or herself in relation to the discourses that confront the body.” Bio-politics shapes how individual bodies are classified in regards to society, the media, self-knowledge, and self-understanding, and institutions such as schools. Youth culture often pitches their sense of gendered subjectivity against distorted fashionable images portrayed through digital and social media sites and through cult TV.

In essence, popular discourses surrounding the body become more magnified within the context of school-based PE and sport. In keeping with Wright (2000, p. 158):

[t]he physical education lessons are constituted intertextually by drawing on a complex range of institutional discourses from education, sport, the academic disciplines associated with the study of human movement and, most recently, discourses linked with exercise and fitness with health. These intersect with broader cultural discourses around gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and bodies widely circulating through day-to-day interactions and particularly through the media.

In Kirk’s (2001) historical analysis of PE in Australia between the 1880s and 1950s concerning children’s bodies, schooling the body, and corporeal regulation are offered as defining features of schools during that time. Schooling the body was actualised by Swedish gymnastics, calisthenics, sport, and meticulous pedagogical practices. The intent of the educational policy makers is fundamentally a disciplined society, and this was underpinned by its educational practices. Since then, bio-power has

influenced how policy-makers view the nature of PE, and the introduction of games allowed for “a ‘looser form of power’ over the body” especially for males (Kirk, 2001, p. 483). “In contrast to the strategy of segregating and outlawing any form of physical contact between males offered by drilling and exercising, games at least gave boys and men one avenue for socially approved bodily contact” (Kirk, 2001, p. 482). The relations of power still exist on the body, but it was now shaped by bio-power, in that games were still governed by rules, boundaries, and the repetitive nature of teaching games skills. Similar to the developments in PE in Australia, football established itself as a game for the mass population in the Republic of Turkey during the 1950s (Akin, 2003; Korkmaz, 2009). In contrast to Australia and Britain, forms of drill such as marching still remain in the Turkish National PE curriculum, suggesting the influence of cultural politics upon schooling.

In this regard, my research enquiry seeks to advance the work of Kirk (2001) by recognising some of the knowledge forms and certain pedagogical practices ingrained in PE that may have advanced or be counter-productive to schooling the body. In the relations of power-knowledge-self, there can be neither total domination nor liberation in the schooling of the body. At Hilsea School, whilst liberation may be felt by the Year 12s through a looser structure of PE, the effect on a less regulated body may be offset by an intensified realisation of self-examination, self-knowledge, the abject body, and a need to care for the self (Besley, 2005; Kristeva, 1982; Miller, 2009; Murray, 2008).

The relations of power-knowledge, discourse, technologies and bio-power all help to explain how individuals learn about themselves and the process of being human (Foucault, 1982). Through these processes, an individual acquires “certain attitudes” (Foucault, 1988a, p. 18) in order to function as a socially acceptable member of society. At the heart of these relations of power is the need to correct deviance through the disciplinary mechanisms of normalisation, normalising practices, and normalising judgements. It is through these subjective normalising regimes and normalising ways of being

that a society is able to produce a good, useful, and docile working population.

Normalisation refers to, “individual actions to a whole that is at once a field of comparison, a space of differentiation and the principle of a rule to be followed” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 182). According to Foucault (1977a), discipline within a modern society is upheld by the controlling mechanisms of hierarchical observations and normalising judgment that, when joined together, culminate in the examination. Foucault (1977a, p. 170) contends, “[t]he success of disciplinary power derives no doubt from the use of simple instruments; hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination.”

The examination is an example of power-knowledge relation in schools. Power and knowledge work together (Stone, 2004, p. 80) and in schools the power-knowledge relations hinges on how the forms of discourse in education are mediated by examinations (Ball, 1990, p. 3). Foucault (2003, p. 66) described the examination ritual to be, “an operator of power, an intensifier of power.” In the context of PE and sport, the body is constantly scrutinised and examined through various forms of surveillance. According to Foucault (1977a, p. 176), “[a] relation of surveillance, defined and regulated, is inscribed at the heart of the practice of teaching, not as an additional or adjacent part, but as a mechanism that is inherent to it and which increases its efficiency.” In the context of PE, the gaze is a form of surveillance and it is the “internalisation of the gaze and regulation of one’s own behaviour irrespective of the actuality of the gaze is what gives surveillance such deep rooted and enduring potency as a technique of power” (Webb, McCaughy and MacDonald, 2004, p. 210). The gaze can take on many forms (competing gazes) between subject and object, and in the form of the male gaze and the sexual gaze where females become objectified. A sense of examination can become even more exacerbated and problematic when displays of the flesh, starting and ending in the changing rooms, and in

between the performance of the body, become the focus of attention and surveillance.

Wright, (2009, p. 1) described bio-pedagogies as “the normalising and regulating practices in schools [...] generated by escalating concerns over [the] global ‘obesity epidemic’” and also viewed as the way in which pupils think and feel about the obese body. The bio-pedagogic surveillance technologies are related with care and welfare and are integral to the governance of the school population (Rail and Lafrance, 2009). During registration at the start of the academic year at Hilsea School, each pupil gets an instant bodily measurement through the ritual of being digitally weighed and measured. This sets a benchmark for the collection and comparison of bodily measurements in the days and years to come. It serves as a form of social control and a practice of intervention in regard to body-work issues such as obesity or low body weight. I understand that some pupils do not attend, despite the Turkish Ministry MEB requirement that pupils be weighed and measured twice a year. The data collection may draw out such complexities and contextual nuances between the body, power-knowledge, and surveillance?

Research (Burfoot, 2003; Miller, Melnick, Barnes, Farrell and Sabo, 2005; Sabo, 2012; Videon, 2002) suggests that the coalescence between the regulatory and disciplinary relations of participation in organised physical activities and sports teams positively compliment academic performance. Evidential links between exercise and health regimes have gained traction through the discourse of exercise being a ‘wonder drug’ in overcoming cancer (Macmillan Cancer Support, 2011) and other debilitating mental health issues. Do the social, cultural, and normative constraints deter pupils from attending regular team practices or playing competitive sports at Hilsea School? Can sporting and academic achievements both be realised? Butin (2001, p. 162) argues that, “[w]e are involved in accepting or resisting the normative constraints placed upon us [...]. Whether accepting or rejecting it, though, they are all actively engaged in the process.”

Normalisation is a measure that regulates, sets statistical norms, and creates hierarchies, that might also be considered as another form of “the way we do things around here” (Deal and Kennedy, 1983). Normalising practices operate in relation to power in order to establish and maintain conformity. In schools, for example, this may be established through the implicit or explicit rules and codes that maintain a standard of expectation and practice (e.g. school rules, school uniform, and PE kit). Pupils are placed in mixed ability classes for all subjects at entry level in Hilsea School. I understand pupils who attend public primary schools (with limited funding and facilities) may not have had access or received a formal PE curriculum. The entry level skill-set is very varied in PE when the pupils first arrive at Hilsea School. What is also noticeable in this age group are the vast differences in maturation. Straight away, the body is under the microscope and differences are magnified. Not only is the physical skill-set of a pupil being closely examined by peers, but also their physicality and the body. Gradually, pupils internalise the PE norms and rituals that form part of the subject knowledge. Manned with this knowledge, pupils become self-monitoring, self-regulating, and are equally equipped to compare, contrast, measure, and judge their peers. Within the PE setting, a hidden curriculum or knowledge may be bubbling under the surface, yet to be revealed, and theorising through Foucault will help me to better understand and analyse any emerging sub-texts.

The relations of power surrounding normalisation disclose themselves through institutional practices and a judgement of what is normal versus what is abnormal (Ball, 1990). Normalising judgements operate in PE because it is generally regarded that physical skills are hierarchical and without mastering the fundamentals, the building bricks, a pupil will not be able to progress to the next skill set. Normalisation is also regulated and observed through gender, in the sense that a subjective way of being is to be followed. In terms of gendered subjectivities and femininity, Bartky (1990, pp. 72-73) summed up normalisation to mean, “[a] woman lives her body as seen by another” and “is something in which virtually every woman is required to participate.” Linked into the disciplinary powers of judgment and the normalisation of women and femininity, was the appearance and “mastering the rituals of

beauty” (Bartky, 1990, p. 75). The normalising practices operating in a society reflect their cultural and social values.

Foucault (1982) theorised becoming human through three modes of objectification that he termed as, scientific classification, dividing practices, and ‘subjectivation.’ ‘Dividing practices’ (Foucault, 1977a; 1982) help to define the relations of power that shape our knowledge and understanding of binaries and dualisms. Normalisation and normalising judgements are not only hierarchical, but also select and exclude. The comparing and contrasting of gendered binaries, like weak or strong, is an example of a dividing practice between those that have and those that have not.

Femininity is a defining feature of being a woman, and in PE and sport, being a tomboy or showing traditional male attributes such as physical strength or being competitive may carry the threat of desexualisation (Bartky, 1990, p. 77). Dominant discourses and normalising practices often link masculinity with heterosexuality played out in PE and sports spaces. An individual whose gendered or sexual subjectivity steps outside of the social norms of femininity, masculinity, or heterosexuality can derail others ways of being, because they are perceived as pollutants or as carrying the threat of contamination or contagion. Bodily fluids and excretions like spit and hair (Fusco, 2006b) can be viewed as equally abhorrent. Cleanliness is a signifier of civilisation and modernity and acts as a marker between groups and subjects (Elias, 2000).

Douglas (1966) and Foucault (1977a; 1982) detail the fear of the abnormal individual and how forms of segregation are used as a means of disciplinary control and containment, whilst normalising practices and technologies of the self can produce managed, shaped, and regulated bodies. The PE changing rooms also divide, mark, and separate the subject of PE from other

classroom based learning, which utilises desks and chairs. Clean gendered subjected bodies enter the changing rooms before the class and re-enter after the class – perspiring and dirty that may also be gendered. Perspiration and dirt needs to be controlled, managed, and contained before continuing on with the rest of the academic day. The power relations of surveillance and observation become intensified after the training of the self during the PE lesson, and during the subsequent confinement of contagions lurking in the changing rooms that require the separation of “dangerous mixtures” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 198). The threat of contamination or contagion can produce discourses of prejudice and homophobia. Schools are renowned for being sites of bullying. Any forms of difference between pupils that set pupils apart (i.e. intelligence, physicality, appearance, maturity, ethnicity, sexuality, or gender), or to be a threat, may give a reason to tease or to bully. The power-knowledge relation of gendered subjectivities and sexual diversity are examples of how individual social issues are governed in society (Rabinow and Rose, 2003, p. 4). In a non-Western and Muslim research setting, known for its conservative practices (Catterall, 2011; Rumsford, 2003), I question how the issues surrounding diversity are managed or voiced?

Schools act as sites of a society’s disciplinary regimes through the political policies and practices that govern, regulate, and control a school population throughout the academic day. Foucault (1970, p. 46) termed the rules that define such operations as ‘discursive practice.’ The policing of discursive practice, by both teachers and pupils, sets up a surveillant or panoptic effect in the form of self-regulation. This relation of power operates within the school community, and in Foucauldian terms acts as a dividing practice. Fellow pupils often ridicule following the rules and being good and pupils gain kudos when they resist some of Hilsea’s institutional discourses and forms of discursive practice. But advances in digital and social media technologies also provide pupils with immediate access to issues and developments (see BBC, 2014) that they may follow on social media sites such as Facebook and more recently smartphone applications that redefine subjective ways of knowing and being. These new surveillance devices diffuse the disciplinary

regimes operating in (and outside) of schools and as a teacher, it can feel like the pupils are now often ahead of the 'game,' the game of schooling the body.

Dividing practices shape the environment characterised by normal/abnormal and dangerous/harmless (Foucault, 1977a, p. 199). The social and cultural issues Foucault explored from history give a sense of how a culture treated difference; be it intelligence, contagion, deviance, etc. Whilst this can provide anchor points of conformity, dividing and normalising practices also reveal pockets of resistance and new subjective ways of being (Rabinow and Rose, 2003). As Foucault explains, fissures in the network-like relations of power opened up allowance for resistance:

I would like to suggest another way to go further towards a new economy of power relations, a way which is more empirical, more directly related to our present situation, and which implies more relations between theory and practice. It consists of taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point... (Foucault 1982, pp. 210–211).

Furthermore Foucault (1988b, p. 12) expresses that resistance must be inherent within power relations and, “[t]his means that in power relations there is necessarily the possibility of resistance because if there were no possibility of resistance [...] there would be no power relations at all.” He vividly describes the notion of resistances as “inflaming certain points of the body, certain moments in life, certain types of behavior” (Foucault, 1979, p. 96). Following Foucault, Butin (2001, p. 165) adds “the antithesis of domination is not ‘liberation’ but simply the ability to resist” and at the heart of all Foucault’s disciplinary deviances and relations of power are “how much resistance is possible” (Butin, 2001, p. 169). An overriding PE discourse and disciplinary power over the active body at Hilsea School is that it is a compulsory subject for all pupils. Year 12s have to do it, and yet some may not want to do it and will look for the line of least resistance. For some pupils,

resistance is deployed in realising how to do the least amount of physical activity and still achieve a good grade? As Kirk (2001, p. 486) offers:

[t]hrough the lens of Foucault's work on power-knowledge and disciplinary society, we can understand the process of schooling bodies to be layered, complex, and contradictory. [...] by taking seriously the effects of these practices on young people, and by providing means of educating teachers, policy makers, and the general public about the whole range of consequences of school practices, perhaps the processes of schooling bodies may be less likely to be negative and alienating, and more likely to be fulfilling, enabling, and in the most hopeful sense of the word, liberating.

In the context of PE, I surmise resistance to the dominant social and political discourses are countered when pupils act out (made visible and physical) through 'language in action': pupil disengagement, passive compliance, non-participation, being unprepared - no PE kit, parent excuse notes, absence, low level disruptive behaviour (Stone, 2004, p. 90). Discourse whilst acting as agents of change can also be resistant to dominant power relations. Said (1986, p. 153, emphasis in original) believes "discourse is not only that which translates struggle or domination, but that for *which* struggles are conducted."

This leads into Foucault's (1977a; 2000) concept of regimes of truth. The concept 'regimes of truth' first appeared in *Discipline and Punishment*, that he later developed in the third phase of his writings, known as 'games of truth', 'truth games' or creative spaces (Peters, 2004).

the different ways in our culture that humans develop knowledge about themselves [...] 'truth games' related to the specific techniques that human beings use to understand themselves (Foucault, 1988a, pp. 17-18).

“‘Truth’ is linked in a circular relation with systems of power that produce and sustain it, and to the effects of power which induces and which extend it – a ‘regime’ of truth” (Foucault, 2000, p. 132). From his initial concept of the regimes of truth, Foucault developed truth games, to include the important element of the ethical self, played out through a subject’s practices, lifestyle choices, and sense of agency (Besley, 2005; Peters, 2004). Foucault would make reference to the tenets of the self in ancient Greece and the term “care of the self” in relation to education (Besley, 2005; Peters, 2004). The caring element of the truth games takes on a new relevance when applied to the human body, health and exercise (Miller, 2009). For example, observation of the world around, serves to generate new relations of power-knowledge associated with bio-politics, bodily knowledge, and self-awareness, that can render pupils with a preoccupation with gendered subjective bodily images and sculpting an ideal gendered look.

In the heightened sense of the subjected self in the PE, females may define PE as a space and place to help improve and remodel the feminine body (McCormack, 1999; Paechter 2000). Likewise, the gendered masculine body image has seen a shift from a buffed, muscular body to a thin and fat-free one (Filiault, 2007, cited by Anderson, 2009). At a cultural and localised level, whilst pupils may have a preoccupation with sculpting and producing a subjected gendered body image through physical activity, other demands placed upon the body mean such desires get disrupted and cannot be realised. Nevertheless, certain pupils at Hilsea School may instead elect for other body enhancements and augmentations such as cosmetic dentistry in the realisation of the perfect smile.

Tied into discourse and the notion of ‘know yourself’ is the confessional (Besley, 2005; Foucault, 1979, 1988). In undertaking different forms of data collection the participants and I can potentially open ourselves up to self-disclosure. I am mindful that, “[t]he confessional is a ritual of discourse [...] it is also a ritual that unfolds within a power relationship [...] a ritual in which the truth is corroborated [...] it exonerates, redeems, and purifies...” (Foucault, 1979, pp. 61-62). As Besley (2005, p. 87) offers:

schools do need to have some awareness of the part they play in constituting the self of their students. Schools need to be aware of the technologies of power (domination) and of the self that they bring to bear on their students and the effect these have in constituting the self.

Foucault (1979) and Besley (2005) draw attention to the circulation of power involved in undertaking research as an insider, and the need for the continuous ethical care of the participants and of myself.

Schools can also expose opportunities for pupils to experiment with the power dynamics operating within the classroom and thus different subjected ways of being:

[w]e escaped then a domination of truth, not by playing a game that was a complete stranger to the game of truth, but in playing [...] another game, [...] other trumps in the game of truth (Foucault, 1988b, p. 15).

In a school setting, the players (teachers and pupils) in the relations of power know that by entering the truth games, they come to understand themselves and different subjective ways of being when the relationship of 'them' and 'us' is exposed. Each will each seek to play their best card and trump the other (Foucault, 1988b). In Year 12, for example, the relations of power-knowledge-governance are diffused from the PE teacher onto the pupil. The power relations shifts and the role of the teacher appears less dominant. With a less formal and loosely structured PE lesson format, pupils can exercise some choice towards their physical activity. Offering a choice creates a sense of agency and more opportunity for individual 'transformation.' In the same vein, without the normal lesson structure, boundaries, and regulations in place, the relations of power may have shifted and created uncertainty about the normalised subjective ways of being during the PE class. Moreover, Apple (1998, p. 424) explains how the truth games between

teachers and pupils are played differently by creating spaces for resistance to the usual school regimes:

we should not assume that teachers or students are totally unaware of what is happening. How do they understand these things? How do they possibly find the holes in these discourses and mechanisms in creative ways so as to allow for spaces of resistance?

A society's schooling regime, sport, and PE activities all help to define their culture (Jacobs, 2010) and in doing so, make apparent the significance of ritual. For Foucault (1972), ritual was closely linked to the concept of discourse and the manner in which it operated.

ritual defines the qualifications required of the speaker (of who in dialogue, interrogation or recitation, should occupy which position and formulate which type of utterance); it lays down gestures to be made, behaviour, circumstances and the whole range of signs that must accompany discourse... (Foucault, 1972, p. 225).

According to Douglas (1973, p. 79) rituals are a 'restricted code' and a means "to convey information and to sustain a particular social form. It is a system of control as well as a system of communication." The school timetable, for example, is a regulating ritual. In schools, pupils' time, space, and movement (Foucault, 1977a, p. 137) are all controlled and ritualised through a timetable, signalled by bells, assigning pupils to certain teachers, subjects, and classrooms at each point of the day. School learning contains and controls the body, and with it, "[t]ime penetrates the body and with it all the meticulous controls of power" (Foucault, 1977a, p. 152). Within school-based PE, the nature of the subject is characterised by its own embedded rituals based on longstanding teacher power-knowledge (truth) and how the PE curriculum is to be acted out by the pupils to gain a mark (force). Pupils in PE lessons are continually examined (force) on their performance or

achievements and marked according to set criteria (truth). In PE, the recording and marking of pupils' attendance, participation, performance, tests, and examinations are all in place as mechanisms of control. In addition, continuous record-keeping contributes to the establishment of averages, norms, and the classification of pupil work. Pupils internalise these PE rituals and norms that form part of the subject knowledge. A key to understanding Foucault's relations of power is to recognise how discourses are acted out in the forms of subject knowledge (see Poster, 1984) such as PE.

Closely linked to ritual and self-disclosure or the confessional in realising knowledge of yourself, is the spiritual aspect and a sense of purification to wash away your sins. I understand that in Turkish culture running, flowing water is part of the purification ritual. For instance, you may take a shower, but you are likely to find a jug there too, so that at the end of your shower, you would use the jug to empty running, flowing water over your body as the final act of purification. For this reason the Western practice of taking a bath is associated with lying in dirty and unclean water because the water is still and not flowing. This posits how Year 12s at Hilsea School negotiate and maintain the gendered subjected body in a wish to feel 'clean and pure' after PE.

2.5. Doing Foucault

In uncovering Foucault's conceptual tool-box, his thinking details how many of his concepts overlap and interplay with one another to build up a layered complexity. At the same time, it is necessary to consider Foucault's writings and lectures as works in progress and illustrate how his thoughts, ideas, and analysis have changed over time. A critique of Foucault's work creates its own set of challenges since, not only did his work need translating, but also he played with language and changed the meaning of how he used certain words. For example, his use of the term knowledge, referred to knowledge

about, (what an individual thinks to the best of their knowledge) and knowledge of, (i.e. a field of knowledge). Similarly, I recognise that Foucault's reliance on structural linguistics (specifically how he used language to make sense and give meaning) is at odds with an enquiry focused on the active body in PE and the life experiences of the young people (Brown and Cousins, 1986; McHoul and Grace, 1993; Markula and Silk, 2011). Shilling (2003), in this regard, cautions against Foucault's notion of the human body being solely crafted through discourse and reduced to only being understood through social forces.

Other sports scholars and educationalists (e.g. Ball, 2013; Bartky, 1988; Chapman, 1997; Cole, 1993; Gilroy, 1989) have been critical of a Foucauldian perspective, since his work showed little concern for either (power) issues related to the construction of gendered subjectivities, sport in society, and a lack of consideration towards disability or ethnic diversity. Danaher *et al.*, (2000) caution that Foucault is often misunderstood and misinterpreted, for instance, through such phrases as "power is knowledge" and "power is everywhere." To offset any shortcomings in using Foucault as a theoretical framework, I employed other thinkers and scholars (Markula, 2003; Markula, and Pringle, 2006; Shogan, 1999) who were more closely attuned to the critical analysis of sport, in order to "draw threads selectively from each and reweave them together in ways that are appropriate" (Pronger, 2002, p. 20).

Foucault's workings of power have often been criticised for being negative and an oppressive operation, but Foucault (1977a, p. 194) clearly declares, "[w]e must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes,' it 'represses,' it 'censors,' it 'abstracts,' it 'masks,' it 'conceals.'" In fact, Foucault (1980a, p. 119) regarded power as the means to "produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse." In targeting a year group of over 180 pupils, the research setting gave me the potential to witness a whole gamut of PE and sports experiences being voiced, observed, or represented in discourses and in the form of binary structures e.g. pleasure/pain, elation/ridicule, fun/boring, and like/dislike. For

example, I might expect physical activity and play to be described as fun or pleasurable (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975; Griffin, Chandler and Sariscsany, 1993), whilst at the opposite end of the spectrum's skills, drills, or fitness tests could be labelled as boring or torturous.

Ball (2013) reviews some misconceptions and misuse of Foucault in educational research. He notes a tendency for the notion of power to be rendered down to mean domination, and to separate knowledge from relations of power. Furthermore, whilst there is literature which theorises discourse in PE and sport (Fusco, 2005; Markula, 2001; Pfister, 2011; Wright, 2000), less is written about its application in terms of data analysis (Nilges, 2000).

Discourse analysis has come to mean the study of texts and language when in fact it is much more, since Foucault also looked at structure (the architectures, organisations, practices, and institutions) and the rules (subjects, subjectivities, knowledge) surrounding not so much who spoke, but what was spoken. In this sense, discourse reveals reason (Foucault, 1972, p. 49) and statements that become truths (regimes of truth) in a particular moment and context. Discourses both enable and constrain since they provide a sense of validity and normality (Foucault, 1972, p. 68). Discourse is also embedded in our understanding of world knowledge such as education and mental health. What makes Foucault difficult to understand and apply is the notion that discourse can only be defined and applied within set epochs of time. The social-historical context determines subjective ways of thinking and a new epoch creates new discourses and truths: "[d]iscourse must not be referred to the distant presence of the origin, but treated as and when it occurs" (Foucault, 1972, p. 25). Following Fulcher (2012), from my context-dependent data collection, I would identify discourse to mean the broad themes that I would tease out surrounding the constructions of physical education, cultural politics, and the young Turkish body.

2.6 Concluding Comments

Equipped with Foucault's concepts to define my boundaries of action, the data collected will enable me to explore the relations of power-knowledge at Hilsea School and analyse the effects they have on learning, performance, and the pupils' regard for the subject of PE. In analysing the relations of power operating on and through the subjected body in PE, the intent will be to produce contextual knowledge that makes visible and offers an insight into how pupils might play the same game differently (Foucault, 1988b) in order to manage compulsory school-based PE and sport in a context-rich setting. A Foucauldian framework, theorising out from a data-driven research approach, also compliments the generation of knowledge from a non-Western, Muslim, bicultural, and bilingual perspective. My own analysis of the data will be influenced by Foucault's writing and thinking, insomuch as he believes that the process of reading or writing changes us because we will think differently. The challenge Foucault set me was to take my collected data and his conceptual tool-box and use it in a new way, in order to capture the Year 12 PE experience at Hilsea School in a different light. In essence, utilising Foucault's conceptual tool-box has made the relations between power-knowledge, discourse, technologies, normalising practices, and technologies visible (Rabinow and Rose, 2003).

CHAPTER THREE ~ METHODOLOGY

“The *connections* between the *events* is the *meaning*
(Richardson, 1990, p. 13, emphasis in original).

3.1 Introduction

The aim of the research enquiry was to make sense of an everyday PE setting. The complexity of the setting suggested that I utilise an interpretive paradigm (Markula and Silk, 2011) and one that was aligned with the “researcher as *bricoleur*” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 4, emphasis in original). Bricoleur, “describes a handyman or handywoman who makes use of the tools available to complete a task,” whilst bricolage “can also imply the fictive and imaginative elements of the presentation of all formal research” (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 680). I therefore needed to deploy a qualitative methodological approach which was best suited to frame and build upon my thinking. Overall this qualitative stance purports that knowledge can be reconstructed both individually and collectively, and hence through experience both the participants and I can become better informed. This chapter will firstly examine the ontological and epistemological parameters that outline the boundaries of action to support the research enquiry. Secondly, the axiological concerns regarding my position as an ‘insider-outsider’ or ‘foreign insider’ researcher and the on-going ethical issues that arose such that the researcher and the participants will be critically scrutinised. Thirdly, the procedures for the collection of data and analysis are discussed. A final section reviews the issues surrounding the potential and limits of reflexivity, judgement, and promise.

3.2 Methodology, Ontology and Epistemology

The contextual and cultural aspects of the Turkish PE setting at Hilsea School, introduced in chapter one, grounded the research enquiry in a qualitative methodological framework in terms of the interpretive paradigm (see Guba and Lincoln, 1994; 2005; Markula and Silk, 2011). As Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p. 3) explain:

[q]ualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. [...] This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Ontology relates to existence or being, whereas epistemology refers to the study and acquisition of knowledge. In terms of the interpretive paradigm, ontology focuses on reality and the epistemic on subjective and 'co-created findings' that include 'voice' and 'reflexivity' (Guba and Lincoln, 2005, p. 195). As Ellis and Bochner (2000, p. 743) endorse, "the reflexive qualities of human communication should be accommodated and integrated into research and its products" and they further argue, "more and more academics think it's possible to write from the heart, to bring the first person voice into the work and to merge science and art" (Ellis and Bochner, 2000, p. 761). Building on Ellis and Bochner (2000), Guba and Lincoln (2005) justify why researchers are able to weave their own position into the research process. This qualitative stance can be justified and realised by acknowledging the fact that a researcher cannot remain neutral or detached from the research setting, participants, or data collected. Instead, through reflexivity and use of the first

person, the researcher's own voice and subjectivities do become entwined into the research process, and thus enmeshed in the findings. Consequently a sense of critical self-reflexivity became an important component of the research enquiry methodological framework, including acknowledging my own subjectivities such as professional role, age, gender, ethnicity, and biases.

3.3 Boundaries of Action

The theoretical/methodological approach set out above will use participants' testimony and multiple voices to help make sense of the setting. I am aware that the notion of 'voice' is problematic as it raises issues of power and privilege between the participants and myself as the researcher. In doing so, the research enquiry does not predetermine nor suggest a conclusion. Instead the purpose of the research enquiry is to detail the setting towards the production of a deep contextual knowledge (Markula and Silk, 2011, pp. 8-9). It allowed the participants voices, and the researcher's insights, observations, and self-reflexivity to evolve throughout the collection process in order to draw together an analysis and explicate a cautious conclusion. Consequently, the boundaries of action suggest an approach, "requiring an expansive and flexible methodological arsenal" (Andrews, 2002). Given this approach, the qualitative research tools best suited to detail the research issues include the in-field participant observations, interviews, and personal communications with a participant and critical friend.

Crucial to adopting semblances of physical cultural studies is the application of articulation. Articulation can be explained as:

the form of the connection that *can* make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is the linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute, and essential for all time. You have to ask, under what circumstances *can* a

connection be forged or made? (Hall, 1996, p. 141, emphasis in original).

Further, articulation is described by Slack (1996, p. 112) as “a method used in cultural analysis” and “a way of ‘contextualizing’ the object of one’s analysis.” Articulation is a practical application ensconced, not just with ways of knowing, but “of thinking relations and connections as how we come to know and as creating what we know” (Slack, 1996, p. 114).

Using the central tenets of physical cultural studies to map the specifics of the PE setting, all the varied forces that are taken for granted, as in the historical, political, socio-economic, and religious factors, that act within the social fabric of Hilsea School have to be evaluated, whilst taking into consideration their empowering and disempowering effects (Slack, 1996, p. 124). For example, physical cultural studies draws on the ideas of Marx, the notion of power relations, and a desire for change or betterment (see Markula and Silk, 2011). However, in locating a theory fit for purpose, Slack (1996) concludes the task to be nigh on impossible and therefore acknowledges that (physical) cultural studies are not beholden to one set of paradigms, methodologies, or theories. As Grossberg (1997a, pp. 7-8) argues, “cultural studies is perhaps best seen as a contextual theory of contexts as the lived milieux of power” since, “context is everything and everything is contextual” (Grossberg 1997b, p. 255).

Following Richardson (1994; 2000), I eschewed triangulation through recourse to crystallisation. As Richardson (1994) argues, there are far more than three sides from which to approach the world and the image of a crystal rather than a geometrical triangle provides more light and insight. The strength of using crystallisation as a prism to interpret the findings meant the setting, (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995), like a crystal can be viewed from a multitude of angles and depending on the angle what I can ‘see’ may change. In the field it was impossible for me to observe the entire PE setting at any one time and, it became important to build and synthesise my observations with the theoretical literature. Consequently, my observations

and writing became self-reflexive as I interpreted and reworked the captured moments, and what I 'saw' was dependant on my angle of repose and prose reflected "creative analytic processes" (Richardson and St. Pierre, 2005, p. 962).

Building on from Richardson, my representation of the Year 12 PE and sport experience at Hilsea was just one possible reading and interpretation. Indeed, based upon the paradigmatic boundaries of the research enquiry the findings, conclusions, and recommendations were cautious. In summary, a feature of this qualitative research enquiry, and in keeping with physical cultural studies sensibilities, was the continued application of transparent reflexivity to any production of bodily knowledge within the contextual setting (Gallmeier, 1988; Markula and Silk, 2011; Silk and Andrews, 2011).

3.4 Axiological Concerns

Another key part of the methodological framework/research design hinged upon axiological issues. Guided by the British Educational Research Association's (BERA, 2004) ethical guidelines, and bearing in mind I was conducting potentially complex and messy qualitative research (Robson, 2002) in a context-dependent setting, I considered how best to prepare for the unexpected (see Greig, Taylor and Mackay, 2007). Harnessing a code of ethics created an ethical and moral boundary that permeated my entire decision making surrounding the research process. Ethically and morally, my research was governed by respect and by being responsible in how I represented all of those involved. Early in September 2007 I requested and was granted permission from the Head teacher of Hilsea School to conduct the research enquiry at Hilsea with the Year 12s. I was given access to undertake participation observations during all Year 12 PE classes, timetabled on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. The target Year group was a cohort of over 180 pupils. Year 12s were chosen as the target group because they would be more accessible than in Year 13 and compared to other Turkish secondary phase schools, PE was still a compulsory subject.

Shah (2004, p. 556) declares that “access has to be negotiated within cultural conventions and constraints.” She adds, “[a]ccess is not just the question of ‘getting in’ (physical access), it sets the tone for ‘getting on’ (social access) as well” (Shah, 2004, p. 557). Once in, other ‘gatekeepers’, namely, the Turkish Head of Year 12, Head of Pupil Welfare, and PE colleagues then had to be formally approached to request their approval to access the Year 12 PE lessons. Access however was also conditional on gaining permission and a signed consent form from guardians to interview the Year 12 pupils. Both the Head of Pupil Welfare and the Turkish Head of Year 12 were given a draft of the guardian informed consent form that I had translated into Turkish. In early March 2008, each Year 12 pupil was offered a one page translated informed consent form written in Turkish about the research enquiry, including a paragraph outlining the purpose of the study (see appendix two).

Since the participants and data led the research enquiry, the ethical boundaries had to be fluid (see Harcourt, Perry and Waller, 2011). I had, for instance, intended to visit each tutor group to give a brief explanation of my research enquiry but after only two visits of twelve, due to unforeseen teaching commitments, I had to rely upon the Turkish Head of Year 12 to speak on my behalf and distribute the forms. However, the majority of the cohort appeared not to take a form, and those who did never returned a signed consent form. The participants’ motivation to respond could reflect an interest in the subject, curiosity in being part of a research project or just that their parent or guardian had signed and returned the form (Gratton and Jones, 2010, p. 121). I could therefore only make contact with 18 Year 12 pupils and their signed consent forms were archived. Nevertheless at no stage did I intend the pupils to feel obliged to participate, as any involvement was voluntary and they could withdraw at any time. The uptake may have reflected:

- Generation Y who would be asking, why?
- The transactional element - ‘what’s in it for me’?
- Low interest or importance in subject matter
- Concerns about the time element and commitment

See Berg, 2007; Shah, 2004; Critical friend, 28 February 2008.

Following the BERA (2004) guidelines, I observed self-censorship to suppress specific data, driven by the understanding that as the research enquiry unfolded “ethical requirements are assumptions about how social structure/setting ‘ought to be’ that may neglect how ‘they actually are’” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 222). For instance, in establishing my own moral and ethical boundaries, certain observations or conversations might need to remain ‘off the record’ (see Greig, Taylor and Mackay, 2007; Plummer, 2011). Both Berg (2007) and Amis (2005) alert me to the potential issue of controlling confidentiality when conducting focus group interviews compared to face-to-face interviews. Confirmation that all information revealed should remain confidential could be verbal, but Berg (2007) and Amis (2005) recommend getting a signed agreement. The Turkish Head of Year 12 had advised me to be prepared for sensitive issues being discussed by the participants. My priority was to preserve confidentiality and by “[p]utting the human subject squarely in the center of the research both shifts the ethical considerations and allows for socially responsible research” (Markham, 2005, p. 815). Ethically children are considered vulnerable (Amis, 2005), so any issues that arose would be addressed on a case by case basis. Throughout the research process, the relations of power surrounding disclosure would require continuous ethical care of the both participants and of myself (Foucault, 1979; Besley, 2005). As Punch (1994) advocates, great care and consideration needs to be taken at all times, especially with ethical issues during the research process, so as not to cause harm, to confirm access and consent, and to provide realistic confidentiality and protection of the participants and data; both now and in the future.

The ethical and moral boundaries of the study encompassed an inductive research approach. This approach is associated with qualitative and interpretative research where the researcher starts “with broad research questions rather than with a specific theory and/or testable hypotheses” (Plymire, 2005, p. 157). Forsey (2010, p. 558) refers to observational

methods as a product of 'engaged listening' and theories are built on observations. For example, participant observation and reflexivity generate data, that then generates prompts used in subsequent focus group interviews. From the focus group discussions, follow-up face-to-face interviews are then possible to probe deeper and develop a richer contextual explanation. The findings originating from inductive research:

are more varied and specific because each particular research setting is liable to produce different findings. [...] the results of one inductive study may not be generalized to a wide range of different situations. However, the results of qualitative research offer a more complex, and arguably, therefore, more accurate picture of social interactions, which can be complex and ambiguous (Plymire, 2005, p. 147).

My research acknowledges a data-driven approach that has been utilised in a context-dependent setting.

It allowed the participants voices, and the researcher's insights, observations, and self-reflexivity to evolve throughout the collection process in order to draw together an analysis and explicate a cautious conclusion. As Guba and Lincoln (2005) suggest, my position as the researcher gave me choices surrounding the context of the setting, the issues to be examined, the theoretical framework, the potential participants and how the data would be collected and analysed.

As a 'foreign insider' researcher, my dualistic and multiple roles frequently became blurred and 'messy' (see Burton, Brundrett and Jones, 2008; Hurworth and Argirides, 2005). As a consequence, undertaking the research enquiry at Hilsea School presented a number of challenges and axiological considerations, including accessing and negotiating the school setting, my position as a foreign insider, and language barriers for both the researcher and participants. However, the merits of a known setting offered the potential for a much richer context.

The role of “insider-outsider” or “the space between” researcher (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Kerstetter, 2012; Paechter, 2012; Woodward, 2008) provided me with access and time, allowing the data to unfold. My privileged position as an insider highlights the circulation of power involved in inductive and context-dependent research (Foucault, 1979; Besley, 2005). It was unusual for such research to be carried out at Hilsea School and my colleagues might need reassuring that I was observing the pupils and not them. In the field I could distance myself from the participants and be ignored (Verma and Mallick, 1999), but the relations of power would inherently change when undertaking interviews (Amis, 2005, p. 112). I knew a couple of the participants having previously taught them or because their involvement in the sports enrichment programme. Other participants, especially the boys, were relative strangers. Engaging all my senses (Woodward, 2008) I could experience the insider culture of Hilsea School but would miss out, in a physically active sense, in the sub-cultures of the Year 12 PE classes. I was aware that my outsider and teacher persona was likely to be more marked in the context of Turkish culture (Hall, 1981). In a context dependent research

18 Year 12s agreed to participate in the research enquiry. The seven males and eleven female participants (see Seidman, 2006, p. 14) represent 13 day pupils, and 3 full and 2 weekly boarders. The participants were aged between 17 and 18 years and each was assigned a Turkish pseudonym to provide some anonymity but also to keep the participants ‘real’ (see appendix three).

The focus group interviews took place from the end of March 2008 to early June 2008, including a pilot focus group interview conducted in late March. At the start of each interview the focus groups were reminded of the research enquiry focus, informed how their discussions would be used, reassured that they would be offered some anonymity through a pseudonym and notified of the possibility of face-to-face follow-up interviews at a later date. At the close of each interview, the participants were asked if they would like to add anything or if there were any other issues they would like to discuss. Five

focus group interviews were conducted and recorded lasting between 27 and 37 minutes.

3.5 Collection of Data and Procedures

The methodological framework draws on an array of qualitative research tools to fully map and critique the research issues. Deploying both fieldwork participant observations and interviews was particularly advantageous for the acquisition of information. It provided a sense of the temporal and spatial context alongside an on-going situated interpretation of the data (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 180).

3.5.1 – Participant Observation

Participant observation was an approach suited to researching this particular setting. Throughout the ten months in the field, over 180 pupils could be observed each week. The hardest aspect of being in the field was making the familiar unfamiliar; seeing the setting with fresh eyes and holding at bay any preconceived ideas (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 81). A “watch and record” method was used to observe events as I was in the field (Verma and Mallick, 1999, p. 131).

The participant observations began with the first PE lesson of the academic school year and entailed observing the pupils arrive for class, during the lesson, and as they left the PE changing rooms for their next class. In the first few lessons and weeks I moved from place to place to observe ‘snapshots’ of the participants doing various activities and to get a feel for the three different PE groups (Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays), compromising of approximately 60 pupils each day. In the field, I also took the stance of “adopting a wide focus” as advocated by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p. 175) to “identify and develop what seemed to be the most appropriate categories.” As Gallmeier (1988) suggests, regularly being ‘seen’ by the Year

12s during their PE classes appeared important, both as a way of showing interest and also to build up a sense of trust and rapport. However, this contradicted the notion of whether the pupils would “ignore and then forget about me” (Verma and Mallick, 1999, p. 129).

3.5.2 – Fieldwork and Field notes

The participant observation, from the very outset, was a constant selection and analytical process and it was key to keep a fieldwork notebook and detailed field notes. In observing the PE lessons, Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p. 176) suggest there was a constant decision process about ‘what to’, ‘how to’ and ‘when to’ write an observation down, but their stock phrase was “if in doubt, write it down.” Occasionally, I also used a digital camera to capture the essence of the moment (see appendix eight and nine).

Field notes were briefly written while moving between PE facilities or as soon as possible after the PE lesson finished (Berg, 2007) and written up in full at the end of the school day. Subsequently, the detailed field notes were analysed and I could reflect on my role and the day’s experiences (Berg, 2007). For example, the field notes revealed the ebb and flow of the academic school year, especially a sense of the participants’ energy levels and stress points.

3.5.3 – Focus Group Interviews

Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2005, p. 887) reclaim the use of focus groups in qualitative research stating the method is “nearly always complex and multivalent articulations of instructional, political, and empirical practices and effects.” Since the focus group interviews were fundamental to the theoretical and methodological frameworks, I entered the arena with the realisation that:

[o]bjectivity, implying neutrality and detachment, is not possible (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), nor necessarily desirable on the part of the interviewer as well as the interviewee. Both respond to specific perceived subjectivities. There are possibilities of misunderstanding, error and bias in every interview situation, which increase with additional variants such as culture (Shah, 2004, p. 552).

Focus group interviews have been described as a 'social event' involving group interactions in a two-way knowledge building activity, and a "process of collective sense-making" (Wilkinson, 1998, p. 186). At best, focus group interviews are a method for collecting rich or thick descriptions (narratives and text) through an informal discussion and a means to elicit or access opinions that suit young people (see Roulston, deMarrais and Lewis, 2003). As Wilkinson offers, focus group interviews can quickly generate impressions about the research topic and may provide solutions to problems. Furthermore, the focus group interviews supported the rich participant observations and insights from being in the field.

As Wilkinson (1998) forewarned, it was difficult to arrange mutually convenient times to conduct the focus group interviews. Moreover, pupils in a busy school "have pressing concerns of their own which often give them little reason to co-operate" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 53). The issue of arranging mutually convenient times was resolved by conducting the focus group interviews during the participants' weekly PE class-time, to which all the relevant gatekeepers agreed. However, the participants could not be forced to come to the focus group interviews as they were voluntary and scheduled during their PE classes (i.e. Ender) – they could and did arrive late and leave early. Due to PE timetabling constraints (Smith and Parr, 2007, p. 41) compromises had to be made:

- a) The focus group interviews were conducted in mixed groups in accordance with how the participants' were scheduled for their PE lessons.

- b) The focus group interviews groups comprised of between two and five participants instead of the optimum size of between five and seven participants.

As the focus groups for the interviews formed, it was evident that a few participants had interpreted that the scheduled focus group interviews would involve a form of physical testing; some participants asked me, “Do we have to change our clothes?” or arrived at the office already changed for PE. The venue was a comfortable seated area in the PE office, not usually accessible to the pupils, where the participants could make a drink. The participants all gave permission for the interviews to be recorded on my laptop, using an audio software programme. The participants, as second language learners, were then invited to discuss the lead-in topics through open-ended questions (see appendix four) and voice their views in English.

The focus groups were one-off groupings formed at the time of the interview and the dynamics between the focus groups were notably different. Bearing in mind the nature of the substantive topic, the male participants were in the minority in some focus group interviews (two, three, and four) and equal in numbers to females in other focus group interviews (one and five). Although lessons at Hilsea for all other subjects were mixed, for PE classes they were grouped according to gender. During each of the focus group interviews there were reactions to each other’s narratives that generated mutual laughter, empathetic exclamations such as ‘WOW’ or ‘OOH’ and moments of quiet reflection when participants recalled sensitive experiences. For example, in focus group one there appeared to be a rapport and ‘banter’ between the two participants with mutual laughter and ‘help’ with finishing sentences. The group dynamics also made for the occasional moment of tension when disagreement was voiced between the participants with words such as “no, NO” (my emphasis). However, throughout the focus group interviews I had to keep in mind that, “whilst focus-groups tend to have high face validity, limitations are noted with respect to potential peer influence and the demands on participants from the social processes involved in social discussion” (Harris, 1994, p. 144).

I deployed interview techniques, suggested by Seidman (1998; 2006), in an attempt to avoid leading questions and prompt the participants into giving illustrations. Nevertheless, I did not keep too closely to the focus group interviews prompts outlined, preferring instead to explore the focus group narratives, experiences, and discussions. Furthermore, Berg (2007, p. 130) offers sound advice about drawing out participants who only give mono-syllabic responses to questions and suggests using follow-up probing questions by saying, “Can you tell me a little bit more”, “What else happened”, or by using a silent pause. However, the group dynamics were not unexpected as the Head of Pupil Welfare had forewarned me that the Year 12s’ participation in such a piece of research would be completely new to them (Field notes, 27 March 2008).

As the participants conceptualised their thoughts during the interviews, differences in the participants ease of speaking English and fluency of speech became apparent. The participants’ narratives included filler words such as ‘like’, ‘yer’, ‘er’, ‘um’, ‘blah, blah, blah’ and ‘I don’t know.’ Two participants (Duygu and Tayfun) punctuated their sentences frequently with ‘er’s’ and silent pauses, that I interpreted as ‘thinking time’ or bridges to construct their thoughts into English. The participants’ narratives during the focus group interactions were also a reflection of how the youth culture at Hilsea uses English to communicate and speak (see Murray, Tapson, Turnbull, McCallum and Little, 1994). For example, the participants also tended to refer to their cohort as “people” rather than pupils and the use became clearer once a Turkish colleague had explained that the participants generally, “make fun of terms like ‘adolescents’ and ‘teenagers’ and prefer ‘young people’” (see also Koca, Atencio and Demirhan, 2009). Further, I gleaned that the use of man or woman was not a common phrase until individuals attended university (Personal electronic communication, 22 May 2009).

3.5.4 – Face-to-Face Follow-up Interviews

After the interviews I was particularly interested in following up on the narratives made by Sezen and Tutku during their discussions (Focus group four, 28 May 2008; see appendix three). Since the participants led the research enquiry, I wanted to better understand the specific issues that they had brought to light and to probe more deeply into the females PE and sport subjectivities (see Amis, 2005). The females were approached to request follow-up face-to-face semi-structured interviews. Both participants' agreed to the face-to-face interviews (six and seven) that were arranged early in June and September 2008, and which lasted 16 and 30 minutes respectively. At the write-up stage, I remained in contact with Tuğba who was comfortable and willing to make further comments on my observations and analysis. In my planning it would have been better if I had factored in offering face-to-face interviews to all the participants but due to access issues this was not feasible.

3.5.5 – Transcribing

Transcribing seven interview audio recordings was very time-consuming but an all-important part of the analysis. Lapadat (2000, p. 217) stressed the key to transcribing was rigour, namely:

[p]erhaps most important, in the end, is not any particular step in the process, but rather the researcher's mindfulness about the problematic aspects of transcription. As long as researchers recognize that transcripts are analytic and interpretive tools, then, rather than reifying transcripts as standing for the event itself, they will make situated decisions about using transcription.

The transcriptions included all the pauses, overlaps in conversations, and interruptions that transpired between the participants (Hammersley and

Atkinson, 1995, p. 188; Poland, 2001, p. 641). The transcribed interviews included Turkish words such as ‘şey’ (thing) or ‘yani’ (that is ‘to say’ or ‘I mean’) that the participant Sezen, for instance, used naturally when she spoke English. Tuğba asked her peers for the translation of a Turkish word, namely “*coşmak*” and Fikret replied, “warm up” (Focus group two, 22 May 2008). I found myself using Turkish words (in response) to the participants, such as ‘*tamam*’ (right or okay), ‘*çok güzel*’ (very nice), and ‘*teşekkür ederim*’ (thank you).

With regards to language, it was important to acknowledge the participants’ ethnicity, since many modern day English words cannot easily be translated due to the unique elements of the Turkish language and culture (González y González and Lincoln, 2006, p. 195). The Turkish culture can be described as high-context (Hall, 1981), and during the focus groups I was particularly conscious of the participants being English language learners as, “[h]igh-context cultures make greater distinctions between insiders and outsiders than low-context cultures do” (Hall, 1981, p. 113).

Part of the research enquiry analysis and interpretation of the data was aligned to the work of Huberman and Miles (1998), that involved me making multiple re-readings of the field notes and transcripts, listening to the focus group interviews’ digital recordings, and coding the texts as sub-themes emerged. Miles and Huberman (1994) provided advice on structuring and writing up the field notes and data collected, such as when creating coded themes and categories. The PE themes centred on cultural, social, gender, and the body-mind with 34 sub-divided issues. Included in the themes were causal links such as participant’s opinions and queries I had, including any surprises or uncertainties (Miles and Huberman, 1994, pp. 59-60 and see appendix six).

In summary, I was heedful that transcription had its own challenges and could be fraught with quality issues (Poland, 2001).

3.5.6 – Exit from the Field

The fieldwork naturally came to a conclusion with the end of the 2007-2008 academic year. On return to Hilsea School in September 2008, some participants (Engin, Tutku, Tuğba and Sezen, and one male who did not participate in the focus groups) asked me if I had finished! The hunches and potential themes observed in the field had started to crystallise after the focus groups and the subsequent two face-to-face interviews helped me to drill deeper. The academic year and school timetable naturally set the boundaries of action for the main completion of the fieldwork. In that time a rapport did build up with the Year 12 cohort and its participants. For example, I received hugs from Engin (Research journal entry, 17 December 2008) and Tuğba asked about the research enquiry in December 2009 and kept in personal communication with me until 2010/2011.

3.6 Data Analysis

The term used by scholars to describe the interpretation of data is “contextual analysis” or “articulation.” Johnson, Chambers, Raghuram, and Tincknell (2004, p. 76) refer to reading and writing in cultural studies as “forms of intertextuality.” As Johnson and colleagues (2004, p. 155) explained:

[t]he ‘articulation’ of texts and contexts – the ways in which cultural forms and practices may be both joined and separated, speaking and silent, hinged together while also swinging apart – helps us to understand the history or histories that produce a text as well as the text itself. To read a text, then, is also to read its contexts.

Institutions such as schools can best be explained by the way they are articulated in their social context (Silk and Andrews, 2011). The context can

then be reworked by “forging connections between (forces) practices and effects” (Grossberg, 1992, p. 54).

Any interpretation of data was contextualised in relation to the social fabric of the setting, locality, and culture. I postulated that the Year 12 focus group interview interactions would be a cultural reflection of “the way we do things around here” (Deal and Kennedy, 1983). In addition Frosh *et al.*, (2002, p. 5) suggested, “attention to the gaps in discourse, the contradictions, silences and other absences, was an important strategy for conceptualising the limits of conscious articulation.”

To analyse the field notes, participant observations, and interviews, Johnson *et al.*, (2004, pp. 234-239) provided me with a mode of analysis I could utilise. Namely this was:

- a) Recalling manifests itself through memories that are at first hunches or epiphanies but become less fuzzy and emerge into theories or rethought. Johnson and colleagues stress that memory is selective and keeps hold of what is significant;
- b) Listening refers to the process of reviewing all forms of texts in their entirety, to evaluate their depth, breadth, and limitations; including what is missing;
- c) Close reading refers to having become very familiar with all the texts and subsequently formulating how they might be argued or reworked; and
- d) The process of representing the self and others through the dialogue includes the participants, but also has to bear in mind the audience and the reflexive self, particularly in the context of power.

With reference to recalling (Johnson *et al.*, 2004), I interpret an epiphany as an event witnessed by a researcher that elicits a heightened response or a bodily reaction such as goose bumps. It may also refer to a research episode that has agitated the senses and will not go away. Building on Johnson *et al.*, (2004) and Richardson and St. Pierre (2005), in order to understand the

complexities of the research setting, my analysis was, “derived from the necessity of thinking not only about one’s data, but also with and through the data, in order to produce fruitful ideas” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 168).

Finally the mass of collected data: field notes, research journal, research diary, and transcripts had to be reduced to a “manageable form” (Berg, 2007, p. 47). Johnson *et al.*, (2004, p. 99) term this ‘relative abstraction’ which involves “a kind of editing in and editing out, choosing those elements that were relevant [...] and leaving aside or, better, temporarily bracketing out (so not forgetting) those that are not.” Creating a manageable form of data and, in doing so, choosing what to take forward, involved ethical decisions surrounding critical self-reflexivity, a sense of judgement, and a promise to expose the participants’ collective voices through the reworking of their individual and group narratives supported by the participant observations. A close reading of the data confirmed the contextual richness of the body politics, gendered discourses, and social landscape of this PE setting, and the themes to be mapped out and critiqued in the subsequent four chapters. The themes: football; gender; having fun; purification; body-works and surveillance, acted as conduits through which a theoretical lens could lead into a discussion, a deeper understanding, and the production of knowledge of the complex PE setting.

3.7 Reflexivity, Judgement, Promise?

In order to make sense of the PE setting in this research enquiry I utilised an interpretive paradigm. In doing so, I recognised bricolage as a situated interactive process between the participants and researcher and I brought my own “personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and by those of the people in the setting” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 6) to the research enquiry. I was equally aware of my multiple positions as researcher, teacher, professional, and Westerner. Consequently, how I had come to view the world acknowledged my own limitations within this research

enquiry and the “unpacking of scientific neutrality, universal truths, and researcher dispassion” was aptly referred to as “working the hyphen” (Fine, 1994, pp. 70-71). For that reason, this research enquiry was partial, moral, and political in regard to what and how the participants’ PE and sport experiences were articulated, reworked, and represented. In summary, the research process was best understood by “the metaphor of struggle, of wrestling with the angels” (Hall, 1992, p. 280).

This was borne out in the field as a participant observer when the participants would ask me, as a teacher, for everyday PE requests and occurrences such as equipment, first aid, help, access to facilities, and requests to referee or keep the score or be a partner for a pupil without a partner (Field notes, 04 October, 2007; 13 December 2007; 02 January 2008). Despite not being an assigned Year 12 PE teacher, I felt duty bound to assist and step in when there was a potential health and safety issue (Burton *et al.*, 2008, p. 58; Field notes, 13 December 2007). Colleagues also asked me for help with equipment (Field notes, 19 September 2007; 10 December 2007). Furthermore, I eventually became a ‘cover’ teacher for lessons when colleagues were absent from school. Nevertheless, whilst in the field with certain groups of pupils and/or PE spaces I did feel I was just ignored and as one colleague said of my presence, “They don’t care, they just want to play” (Field notes, 21 November 2007).

Conducting five focus group interviews allowed me to hone my techniques (i.e. to assess how comfortable the participants were during the discussions and direct the responses back towards the group rather than towards me). I also had to reflect upon the richness of the PE and sport constructs being recalled by the participants who had portrayed their perceptions, experiences, and opinions in English rather than in their native tongue (Bassnet, 1994). I recognised language as a possible limitation to the research enquiry (González y González and Lincoln, 2006). Many doubts were however alleviated, as the majority of the participants were both expansive and expressive.

The decision to conduct the focus group interviews during PE lessons and in the PE Office was advantageous in terms of setting up the audio recording equipment, allowing a comfortable seating area, offering refreshments, and maximising the time available. In hindsight the location created its own challenges, as the acoustics were poor coupled with a constant barrage of background noises and interruptions. This was compounded by the poor quality of my audio recording equipment. However, the noise interference and interruptions did not bother the Generation Y participants, as they were happy to stay put. Furthermore, my role as researcher was hampered by interruptions from 'teacher-related' requests (e.g. knocks on the PE office door and telephone calls). Such interruptions meant I missed observing some moments of the focus group interactions. In hindsight, I could have offset some of these challenges if I had utilised a Turkish-speaking colleague who could have also taken notes (Wilkinson, 1998).

Having a local Turkish 'critical friend' was advantageous to the research enquiry as he was a 'key informant' (see Temple and Edwards, 2002) by offering an insight into cultural nuances. For example, my critical friend believes Turks, "from a Western perspective are not a verbal society" and "do not express ourselves very well." Further, he cautions that Turkish males in particular, "do not talk about their daily life" and thus during a focus group interview I might expect the participants to use short phrases such as, 'good', 'I like', 'it's nice', 'it's good', or 'it's fun' (Research journal entry, 05 March 2007). This perspective was explained by Hall's (1981) research into language and culture. In Hall's analysis, different cultures can be classified as having a low-context or a high-context. In a high-context culture "communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message" (Hall, 1981, p. 91). Moreover, "in general, HC (high-context) communication, in contrast to LC (low-context), is economical, fast, efficient, and satisfying; however, time must be devoted to programming. If the programming does not take place, the communication is incomplete" (Hall, 1981, p. 101, my additions to original in parentheses). Building on Hall and the discussions with my critical friend, I

thus decided to include a shared PE reflective writing task in the focus groups to encourage group dialogue (see appendix five).

3.8 Concluding Comments

The methodological framework allowed the participants' individual and collective voices of everyday PE experiences to come to the fore in a non-Western context. A clear intention of deploying physical cultural studies sensibilities aimed to promote a sense of betterment, especially if the participants' exposed any social injustices during their PE and sports experience at Hilsea. I anticipated engaging in the research enquiry process to be professionally and personally illuminating especially through witnessing first-hand the participants' narratives – a subject close to my heart.

The proem introduced in chapter one alluded to the draw of football for certain males at Hilsea. For this reason, the dominance of football in Turkish culture becomes the first theme to be introduced in the next chapter. Football will provide the means for starting to map and make sense of the unfolding PE setting and will subsequently build up the layers of complexity. In doing so the participants' names will start to appear and by the end of chapter seven much more will have been revealed about them.

CHAPTER FOUR ~ FOOTBALL

FOOTBALL, FOUCAULT AND THE GOVERNANCE / DISCIPLINE OF THE TURKISH MALE

“I suck at soccer” (Foer, 2006, p. 1).

“Often the choice of sports that schools concentrate on reflects the climate, the cultural context, and the values of a community” (Jacobs, 2010, p. 46).

4.1 Introduction

This chapter maps and then critiques the prominence that football is afforded in Turkish culture and how the young people in the PE curriculum at Hilsea School navigate this popularity and dominance. The game of football is commonly called soccer in Turkey, but is herein referred to as football. Through a close examination of the historical development of football adjacent to sport and PE (Akin, 2004; Ibrahim, 1982; Kozanoglu, 1999; Okay, 2002; Yildiz, 2008), the chapter provides a contextual understanding of football within the nation and how this has subsequently been replicated in PE lessons. The data raised issues about the construction, differentiations, and multiple readings of masculinity as part of Turkish mainstream youth culture. The final section of the chapter applies Foucault (1973; 1977a; 1979) as a lens to explain how certain bodies do not fit, do not matter, resist, or are rendered docile through football’s technology of dominance (Foucault, 1988a; Pringle and Markula, 2005) and to make sense of ‘male’ sports in physical culture.

4.2 Football as a Technology of Dominance

As discussed in chapter two, football operates as a technology of domination within Turkish culture and this is replicated in Year 12 PE classes at Hilsea School. Engin explained how as young children they would improvise in order to play football:

when you are a kid [pause] you don't need a ball. You can find one 'can' [aluminium], two stones, together, that is a goal [claps his hands together]. You have the 'ball'; there you go...

Focus group one, 31 March 2008.

Tutku recalled that when she was younger, "we played soccer on the streets" (Focus group four, 28 May 2008). The simplicity of the game means almost any open space offers transformation into a football 'field', which lends itself to the game's global popularity, and moreover, its status as a technology of dominance.

The discourses in Turkish culture that place football as the national sport help football, in Foucauldian terms, to act as a technology of dominance that influences males to carry out a set of normalising practices (Pringle and Markula, 2005). In addition, Foucault (1973) explains that discourses (as sets of truths) are produced through power relations and social practices operating within institutes such as schools. The popularity of football perpetuated through the dominant discourses (e.g. the mass media), also designates football as a high status activity (see Paechter, 1998) and football at Hilsea, "reflects the climate, the cultural context, and the values of a community" (Jacobs, 2010, p. 46). Nevertheless, it is important to note that it is the very organic nature of discourses that creates a tension between compliance and 'resistance' (see Pronger, 2002, p. 11).

The delivery of the PE curriculum in Turkish primary schools was influential in how the participants perceived certain sports, and their subsequent

participation and enjoyment levels (see Koca and Hacısoftaoğlu, 2011). The dominance of specific sports (team games) in Turkish primary school PE lessons was illustrated by the participants:

Fitnat: Actually, I think that um before even coming to this school all we had was like basketball, football, I don't know, volleyball kind of [pause]. There were er three sports that we always, always, always did and after some time it got maybe a bit boring for us....

[Interrupted]

Engin: Depressive

Focus group one, 31 March 2008, my emphasis.

The perceived limited repertoire of sports and other team games delivered in Turkish primary school PE lessons can clearly impact on the participants PE curricula experiences (see Koca, Aşçı and Kirazcı, 2005). As Engin recalls, “ALL year, it's always football – basketball – football – basketball” (Focus group one, 31 March 2008, my emphasis). Notably, the limited opportunities in the PE curricula were also in evidence in the USA (see Rikard and Banville, 2006).

Football as a technology of dominance within Turkish culture means it came as little surprise to observe the majority of male pupils at Hilsea regularly opting to play football during PE classes. A similar finding is reported by Atencio and Koca (2011) in their PE research in Turkey. The high uptake can be explained in part by the notion that “boys play high status sports, such as football” (Paechter, 1998, p. 30). For instance, Zeki wrote and underlined the ‘soccer’ field facility as contributing to his positive experience of PE and sport at Hilsea (see appendix five). In keeping with the normalising practices of football, I also noted that over 60 Hilsea School boys regularly attended the weekly enrichment football team practices.

At Hilsea the lure of the closed covered court to play football, compared to the other spaces where the game can be played, epitomises the notion of male space and territory (Bale, 2001). The football players appear to identify the closed covered court as a male space where they can replicate and reproduce their best football skill set as a socially valued form of masculinity (see Atencio and Koca, 2011). The covered court is a space associated with the “projection of a place’s prowess because of its sporting attributes” (Bale, 1988, p. 513). The scent marking of the football players in this space can be understood by the term ‘topophilia’ that is associated with “ideas of place-attachment, place-pride and boosterism” (Bale, 1988, p. 511). This form of “territorial partitioning” is an example of “increased specialization and division of activities” (Sack, 1986, p. 173, cited by Bale, 1988, p. 509).

In identifying with the place-attachment and the projected prowess of sporting attributes to the prevalent Turkish football discourses and normalising practices, many of the Hilsea players would wear world-renowned player’s football shirts during PE (Field notes, 21 November 2007). (According to the PE Department PE kit policy mandates only plain, non-logo, non-slogan tops are to be worn). Likewise, in other countries global brands such as Adidas are marketed at young male football players (see Wright, Macdonald and Groom, 2003, p. 30). Significantly, the Year 12s’ shirt adornment contributes towards “the embodiment of the football narrative” (Renold, 1997). From this angle of repose, the aspiring football players appear to be reliving media football images and normalising practices by creating their own football narratives (e.g. by wearing the shirt of their favourite player or team).

The embodiment of the football narrative became apparent when I observed a player or team mimic the choreographed celebratory moves portrayed visually in the professional game (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2009). For example, when a player ran around the covered court with his shirt pulled up over his head, arms outstretched and screamed the word ‘*gol*’ [goal] (Okay, 2002). Likewise, in victory, a team would drop down on all fours to form an automated mass or link arms and walk in a side-to-side formation (Research journal entry, 31 December 2007). I did not feel comfortable observing

prolonged celebratory displays because in a school-based PE setting, they appeared misplaced and immodest. It indicated the domination and importance of winning that is ascribed to football at Hilsea School. However, the script being enacted was not always about winning. Instead, I noted one player who scripted his own narrative by grand-standing their own skill set to the detriment of the team. By not playing cooperatively, his team lost heavily (Research journal entry, 11 February 2008).

Tayfun and Nuray's discussion surrounding the wearing of PE kit illustrates how the participants perceive their year group as being compliant and wanting to 'fit in' with football's technology of dominance:

Tayfun: Ah yes, they just want to show that they are part of like, regular [Inaudible]...

Nuray: I can also wear...

[Interrupted]

Tayfun: Fan. Um, yer.

Nuray: Some of the people get them. They want to show that they are a fan and they can, I don't know

[Interrupted]

Tayfun: Fit in.

Nuray: Yes. And they can buy those uniforms but I think that's not the point.

Tayfun: Yer, I don't support any team or anything and I don't wear those tee-shirts. But I know people like, it doesn't have anything to do with the sportswear. Wearing a tee-shirt when the team becomes a champion, to show that, oh I fit into this team, I should be a part of it...

Focus group five, 04 June 2008.

The phrase “fit in”, used by Nuray and Tayfun, suggests the degree to which the participants are aware of their peer group conforming to a standard of PE kit. Not conforming has the opposite effect, to exclude, and Tayfun’s comment, “I should,” gives a sense of the regulatory mechanisms in place. The above narrative also exposes football’s technology of dominance operating on Turkish youth culture and how the script is further played out in PE.

4.3 The Context of Football in Turkey

A key point in understanding PE and sport in Turkey is that football is a media event and not an everyday life activity (Pfister, 2011, p. 54) and thus a distinction can be made between the Nation having an established football culture but not an embodied physical culture. In Turkish culture, ‘exotic’ is a term used to describe the discourses associated with football (conversation with critical friend, 26 December 2007). As mentioned in chapter one, culturally gendered bodily forms, as in whirling dervishes and oil wrestling, are practiced in many areas of the country. However, there are limited historical accounts detailing the development of ‘modern’ sports in Turkey (Akın, 2003; Okay, 2002 and Ibrahim, (1982, p. 206) argues it was only in the twentieth century that sport gained “a place of stature among Muslims.” Akın (2003) identifies three epochs of sport in Turkish history. Firstly, the country’s ‘ancient’ sports (*ata sporları*) are typified by ‘grease’ wrestling (*yağlı güreş*), horse riding [‘horsemanship’], and archery. Next, ‘authentic’ or contemporary sports imported from other countries (e.g. football, basketball and tennis) were introduced to Turkey that represent the ‘golden age’ of the Ottoman Empire. Lastly, through the emergence of the Republic - the modern state - there was a need for ‘mass sports’ to address modernisation, economic growth, and bodily politics that were targeted at the lower or working classes.

It was in the late nineteenth century, prior to the decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Turkish Republic, that the British and Greek expatriates introduced football into the country (Okay, 2002).

Since football, however, was symbolic of Western culture, Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1909) was strongly opposed and resistant to the game being played during his reign and in the early days of the Empire. Significantly, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was a keen advocate of sports and after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, authentic or contemporary sports such as football were politically more readily accepted (see Ibrahim, 1982). Nonetheless, football was only played in the major cities through the established Sport Clubs (Akin, 2003). Consequently, it was not until 1951 with the instigation of the Law for Professionalism in Football and the formation of the National League that football became a 'mass' sport. Akin (2004) argues that football became established within the nation through the introduction of the Second Division in 1963 and furthermore, it was only then that the game truly became popular and the "opiate of the masses" (Akin, 2003; Korkmaz, 2009).

Football's emergence as the nation's game and as a technology of dominance was entwined with other political and economic developments in Turkey. In the 1930s the Union of Turkish Sports Clubs (*Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı*) attempted to broaden the number of 'Sports branches' available in the country to include the recognised international sports federations (e.g., fencing, tennis, volleyball, basketball, and weight lifting). Sport was no longer just for the élite classes located in the big cities, and by increased political interest in sport and PE, the whole population became a target audience. These initiatives mirrored a campaign to improve the physical abilities of the Turks in authentic sports especially those favoured by the West. The Republic also actively looked to other countries such as Germany for a PE and sport model that they could import and employ. The increased interest of the Republic in physical culture (PE and sport) was politically driven as a means to mobilise the population ready to defend the country and meet the demands of economic growth. In Foucauldian terms, this period of the Republic's history signifies governmentality (Foucault, 1977a) in the sense that the human body and population was being regulated by those in power in order to become a productive and functional national 'body.' For instance, Military service in Turkey remains compulsory for males aged between 20 and 41 (Enginsoy, 2010).

These measures have, however, exposed a tension between the well-established Sports Clubs run by the élite and the Republic's political agenda channelled through the Turkish Sports Association (*Türk Spor Kurumu*). The Sports Clubs were perceived as being too dominant in promoting competition and their own self-interest that were only geared towards football and thus undermined the Republic's sport and PE discourses that espoused co-operation, friendship, and solidarity (Akın, 2003). The cemented competition/cooperation binary is still in evidence through the Hilsea School narratives: the pupils who could only identify with PE as a legitimate space to compete to win, set against the pupils who value cooperation, friendship, and see PE as a place not to boast your skills (Tutku, Focus group four, 28 May 2008 and Interview seven, 24 September 2008; Tayfun, Focus group five, 05 June 2008).

The Turkish Sports Association was also critical of the Sports Clubs coaching style that replicated the strict discipline and control of an officer with the soldiers in his regiment. The classroom instruction "Sit, don't speak, listen" (Özge, Focus group two, 22 May 2008) suggests a style of disciplinary regimes still in practice. Likewise, Turkish Sports Clubs remain the sole gateway for children to play for a youth Sports Club team but membership and participation requires conformity to a highly structured, regulated, and competitive sports culture.

The following discussion about Turkish football teams offers an insight into the impact the affinity with a Club may have on the participants and their society:

Bora: Yer, I also find Galatasaray as my role model. Galatasaray is the, as you know, the champion, this year's champion [laughter] and it is [inaudible] the model team of the Turkish people...

[Interrupted]

Demet and Sevinç: NO!

[Group laughter]

Bora: I mean Beşiktaş. Beşiktaş is an ideal team too.

Sevinç: Yes.

Neşe: I also support Galatasaray but I don't think so. I go to the games, yer football and sometimes I go to basketball games.

Fuat: I just watch the matches.

Neşe: Everyone has his or her own model and it shouldn't have to be a team. It could be a person but I don't have one

Focus group three, 26 May 2008, my emphasis.

Bora's comment illustrates the potential workings of power that a team's discourse may have within Turkish media and culture. The Sports Clubs and their associated teams operate as a technology of dominance to drive the popular Turkish media discourses on sport. Bale and Philo (1998, p. 7) claim that sport is, "among the most visible forms of global culture today."

Turkey came to the footballing world's attention after its third place finish in the FIFA 2002 World Cup, and elevated the status of the game in the nation to new heights. The global sporting spectacle (Tomlinson and Young, 2006) of the 2002 World Cup unfolded during the participants' formative years and "provide[d] a fundamental stage for the presentation of place to a global audience" and introduced the notion of place-attachments as "sport-induced localism, regionalism and nationalism" (Bale, 1988, p. 513). Furthermore, the FIFA World Cup offers all nations a potential stage "that is unrivalled by any other cultural or political body" (Tomlinson and Young, 2006, p. 1).

At a national level, "football continues to ritualize national solidarity, particularly within new or emerging nations" (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2009, p. 23). I observed incidents of ritualised solidarity in Turkey, typically after

international and local derby matches. Post-match celebrations characteristically took the form of main roads becoming a bumper-to-bumper car procession of raucous fans honking car horns or waving flags and scarves. Giulianotti and Robertson (2009, p. 23) note that football fans' behaviour increasingly includes highly visual support as in "team-scarves, shirts, and face-paint." In this vein, the pupils who endeavour to wear and/or display the appropriate Turkish shirts, scarves, or team colours through the school corridors (Research journal entries, Galatasaray-28 February 2008; Fenerbahçe-05 March 2008), replicate the visual support of fan solidarity and allegiance. Hence, allegiance at a club or a local level signifies solidarity "to the personal and collective identities" of millions of fans (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2009, p. 29).

Arguably Turkish football, living off of the back of its FIFA 2002 World Cup success, is seen by some of the participants to be unfair and disproportionate to other equally worthy 'sports branches' that do not get the financial backing, sponsorship, or media coverage afforded to football. The following narrative between Fitnat and Engin makes an inference between the social and political status of sport in Turkey:

Engin: I've always felt so bad to see that [pause] all those sports. I mean there are a lot of sports in the world and we don't have to practice all of them. [Pause] I mean WE as in the Turkish people, but I mean in Turkey there is always either basketball or football and maybe SOMETIMES volleyball but...

[Interrupted]

Fitnat: No.

Engin: Everything else is just kind of [pause] it is just BRUSHED aside.

Fitnat: Yes.

Engin: I mean why don't we have a very nice fencing team or tennis team? We don't. We never

hear about those and I've always felt sad because they USUALLY pop up sometimes. [Pause] I mean tennis and [pause] I don't know fencing they require materials that not everyone can afford, that I see, but there isn't a [inaudible]. I don't think the government [pause] is really supporting all those activities. You have to REACH out, pay to reach...

[Interrupted]

Fitnat: You have to have the facilities.

Engin: So I've always felt sad and I, I think subconsciously I might have developed a resentment towards basketball and football.

Fitnat: Perhaps [giggling]

Focus group one, 31 March 2008, my emphasis.

Zeki shares his experience of playing football and alludes to the game as still being associated with the 'masses' and a social class (see Akın, 2004; Korkmaz, 2009).

Zeki: My previous school was actually based on sports. We had lots of time to play sports and we had many facilities in which we could play every game. So we used to play football or soccer. And then basketball came in and we started to play basketball all the time. We had these fields in between the buildings of the school. So we played basketball all the time [...] I quit 'soccer' because it was too common and it was becoming boring...

[Interrupted]

Tutku: [Laughs] Ha Ha.

Zeki: So basketball was a better choice, more interesting

Focus group four, 28 May 2008.

The two narratives extracted from focus group one and four appear to expose and reflect the socio-economic and class barriers affecting access to sport (alluded to by Tutku, Engin, Zeki and Ece, although the ethnic, religious, or socio-economic make-up of a pupil at Hilsea School is not openly accessible). As mentioned in chapter one, the narratives may also allude to the importance of individual backgrounds, culture, and the intersection of the glocal setting. On closer inspection the focus groups divulge only sparse references to either social class or religious beliefs, and this may be significant. I reflect that personal and sensitive issues are more readily shared during 'off the record' conversations and face-to-face interviews. One such confidant alluded to the challenges involved in a setting where cultures meet, intersect, and collide:

[w]e're not in [...] an English speaking country and people come from I don't know, [pause] they, they, they don't know about the political tensions or [pause] the pressure that's put on people in different ethnic groups. SO they don't have those like TOUCHY feely points er those areas which aren't sort of very SAFE er. They don't know about them, so they hit them with that and they don't realize what they are doing to the students. [...] And they don't find out and I don't know it's sort of a problem really. And there is a lot of fine-tuning that needs to go on also in a country like Turkey with a lot of issues

Confidential participant, my emphasis.

The barriers and access to PE and sport opportunities are outside the parameters of this research enquiry but undoubtedly warrant further investigation.

Scholarly PE research carried out in Turkish government secondary phase schools suggest that playing football in PE lessons allows for certain male physicality to be performed, such as playing hard and fighting (see Atencio and Koca, 2011). But this normalising gendered practice is not condoned at Hilsea and the males have to learn other ways of showing their masculinity and physicality. For example, from my participant observations it appears as if the football players shoot the ball as hard as possible at goal (no matter who is in the way), and the degree of verbal teasing and goal/victory celebrations are such ways for a group of males to dominate one another.

4.4 Foucault and the Governance of the Turkish Male

In the context of the PE experience at Hilsea, the disciplinary circle of influence allows football to be a technology of dominance. The majority of the Year 12 males subscribe to the media and cultural popularity of football and are compliant to playing the game every week in PE. The male football players manipulate the rules (e.g. arriving early for the lesson or finishing 'late' and do not conform to the regulation PE kit by wearing branded football shirts). Consequently, it is now necessary to examine the males who do not subscribe to football's technology of dominance and physical markers of masculinity, and how their forms of 'resistance' can be viewed as "a starting point for an opposing strategy" (Foucault, 1979, p. 101) against the transformed, improved, broken, and rearranged body.

The workings of power on the body, using Foucault's terminology, affords a spectrum of realities of the self in which the body may be experienced. Institutes such as schools are very effective in using time and space to regulate and control a pupil's bodily movements and actions (see Foucault, 1977a, p. 136). In this research enquiry an important relation of power to understand is Foucault's (1988) technology of the self. So far, according to Foucault, subjects (individuals, pupils) have been viewed as a product of

knowledge and the relations of power. Through the concept of technologies of the self, Foucault offers the subject the means to transform himself/herself.

Markula's (2003) analysis is useful since she draws together various scholarly sports' articles that have applied technologies of the self to explain physical cultural phenomena. Markula (2003, p. 88) states, "[b]ased on Rail and Harvey's [1995] explanation, the technologies of the self can be conceptualized as practices that free the individual from the control of disciplinary practices and consequently, lead to self transformation." Furthermore, Markula (2003, p. 92) suggests "the technologies of the self provided Foucault with a possibility to determine how individuals can, through resistant practices, reconstruct the dominant discourses that structure society." Simply, one component of technologies of the self might be described as a "constant, everyday reinvention of the self" (Markula, 2003, p. 104).

Markula (2003, p. 98) clarifies, however, that three components are intricately involved in the technologies of the self, namely: ethics and self-care, critical self-awareness, and aesthetic self-stylisation. Furthermore, Markula (2003) argues that critical self-awareness must occur in a subject's reinvention of the self. Another important characteristic to note is that technologies of the self are always "based on the models made available by one's culture" (Chapman, 1997, p. 218) and is therefore considered 'glocal', limited by culture and context. Lastly, Terry and Urla (1995, p. 15) offer that, "knowing one's origins, one's environment, one's proficiencies, and one's weaknesses constitutes the modern technologies of the self, which, to a large extent, are animated by scientific advice and expertise in the public sphere."

The relations of power have the effect of producing particular types of subjects (pupils) and knowledge about these pupils, and as Foucault (1980a, p. 39) asserts:

in thinking of the mechanisms of power, I am thinking rather of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches

into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives.

Foucault (1977a) used examples from learning certain physical disciplines or skills (e.g. handling a rifle and handwriting) to illustrate how the body is rendered docile through schooling. The breaking down of a skill into manageable parts was the key to mastering physical and bodily motor skills (Foucault, 1977a, p. 157). By rendering the body docile, it “may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved” and furthermore through the relations of power in can be explored, broken down, and rearranged (Foucault, 1977a, pp. 136-138). In this instance, the ‘discipline’ operating in institutions such as a school can be understood as:

a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a ‘physics’ or an ‘anatomy’ of power, a technology. And it may be taken over [...] by institutions that use it as an essential instrument for a particular end (schools, hospitals), or by pre-existing authorities that find in it a means of reinforcing or reorganizing their internal mechanisms of power (Foucault, 1977a, p. 215).

Leaman (1986, p. 123) claims that, “the most valued kind of sports in our society are masculine” and in this regard, Theberge (1991) and Connell (1987; 2005) argue that schools are citadels of male dominance and power that are espoused in PE ideologies and practices. Connell (1987, p. 85) notes that images of the ideal form of masculinity in Western societies are systematically formed and advanced through competitive PE, since:

[t]he combination of force and skill that is involved in playing well at games [...] for most, it becomes a model of bodily action that has a much wider relevance than the particular

game. Prowess of this kind becomes a means of judging one's degree of masculinity.

For example, judging a pupil's degree of masculinity through sport and PE discourses and practices is succinctly illustrated by Engin's narrative:

in sports there is always, even though we say there isn't [...] there is always this idea of competitiveness with one another and its, it's a part of life [...] but I mean especially in sports its quite visible in some sporting endeavours and you're always try to exercise more, you always try to get better, build up more muscle, gain speed, sprint faster

Focus group one, 31 March 2008.

Engin's perceptions of partaking in sports and PE as a male draws attention to his use of 'we' and who he is referring to in the competitive environment (see Leaman, 1986; Connell, 1987, 2005), and secondly to how he alludes to being visible and the notion of the 'gaze' exerted on him whilst doing sports.

Secondary phase schools are just one setting in a male's life where masculine identities are formed, explored, and developed. For Connell (1989) schools are, "a site of the differentiation of masculinities" where "differing masculinities are being produced [...] strongly structured by relations of power – on the macro scale - around social power" (Connell, 1989, pp. 291-295). Connell describes masculinities as a collective process that occurs through organised collective power and one's masculinity, and "is asserted and amplified on an immensely greater scale by the society itself" (Connell, 1989, p. 298). In keeping with Connell (1995), Frosh, Phoenix, and Pattman (2002, p. 3) believe that:

it is possible to view constructions of masculinity as the products of interpersonal work, accomplished through the

exploitation of available cultural resources such as the ideologies prevalent in particular societies.

Paechter (1998, pp. 94-96) highlights the potential inter-tensions between home, school, culture, and context in constructing forms of masculinity:

what forms of masculinity are dominant will vary between different cultures and contexts. [...] males in secondary schools are therefore subjected to strong exclusionary pressures, as particular versions of masculinity compete for dominance. [...] The forms of masculinity constructed as dominant in secondary schools are not always those with power in the wider society (Redman, 1997).

Of the male Hilsea School participants who did return a guardian consent form, Ender was the most fanatical about football and was a member of the school football team. In fact, I could not persuade him to join a focus group because the time would encroach on his PE lesson and hence playing football! The only times we spoke face-to-face was briefly at the start or end of a PE lesson. Perhaps the difficulty in getting Ender to join the focus group was indicative of the football and masculinity discourses at Hilsea School; football bespoke his subjectivity and nothing would obstruct this sacred time in the week.

In Western educational terms, PE has never warranted a particularly high status when compared to other school subjects, as the discipline of bodily knowledge is a question of “‘knowing-how’ rather than of ‘knowing-what’, “of knack rather than understanding” and “furthermore what there is to know throws very little light on much else” (Peters, 1966, p. 159). Sezen, a female participant, rationalised and perpetuated a worrying, yet taken for granted assumption, that a reputation for ‘knowing-what’ at a school such as Hilsea justified not having to invest in “‘knowing-how’ and therefore cultivated a sports and physical culture:

if a school is really good academically, if it's performing really well and it's well-known for that [pause] then it doesn't need to make itself known. So usually er the schools which have like, er the slightly lower academic performances have better sports teams I think...

Interview six, 05 June 2008.

Interestingly, Sezen's narrative also alludes to certain schools in Turkey using sporting success as a marketing tool to promote pupil enrolment and may indicate a cultural shift towards sport?

At Hilsea School, the dominant discourses and normalising practices (see Foucault, 1977a) that attest to high academic performances may go towards explaining why a jock culture (Lipsyte, 2011) could not be cultivated (Research journal entry, 04 June 2008). Foucault (1977a) describes this as the "temporal ordering" of subjects and explains the way subjects and forms of knowledge are pegged above, below, ahead, or behind one another. Through the hierarchy of different school subjects and activities, less importance is placed on playing for a sport's team at Hilsea and compounds to a culture where, "Ahh, like in this school we don't like go to the matches of the soccer teams. [...] I am sorry [laughs]" (Sezen, Focus group four, 28 May 2008).

Sezen's comment above also underscores the dividing practices in operation at Hilsea between sport and PE and the other academic subjects. The pressure on academic performance presents a case in point for one male to quit playing for the school basketball team as his academic marks are 'suffering.' Consequently, he shares with me that playing football in PE is "the only thing I look forward to" and a means of "relieving stress" (Field notes, 24 September 2007).

In sharp relief, the majority of the male participants (Bora, Fikret, Zeki, Engin and Tayfun) reject the option to play football in Year 12. The PE options and

activities appear to allow the males to diversify from the masculine normalising practices and attempt “to construct an alternative masculinity [...] and alternative culture” (Paechter, 1998, pp. 96-97). Bora felt doing PE with his classmates in Years 9, 10, and 11 was important but “in the past I used to try to get along with my friends and go to soccer, but this year I also [inaudible] my time for PE [inaudible] is my own decision” (Focus group three, 26 May 2008). Bora’s response to the PE options can be explained through Foucault’s (1977a, p. 182) understanding of normalisation and individual actions.

Football’s skill set and acumen can exert power due to the game’s technologies of domination (Foucault, 1979; 1988a). The modern game reflects a high degree of acquired, mastered, and managed bodily skills integrated with specialist football knowledge as, “there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 27). In the context of PE, the practice and mastering of modern, physical, dynamic, and bodily skills, which are necessary in football, are perceived as a means of separating the wheat from the chaff. This appears to have left a particular mark on one male who divulges:

I don’t like playing football because the thing is, when I started to become more active EVERYBODY was already five years ahead of me. They have been playing football for OOOH and I’d just started so. [pause] At that time I really said, okay I really don’t think I’ll try to catch up with these guys and since ‘let go.’ I, I sucked [pause] I SUCK AT FOOTBALL. Yes

Engin, Focus group one, 31 March 2008, my emphasis.

Engin has come to understand himself (technologies of the self) through self-examination, the knowledge base and football skill set, and the workings of power (classification and dividing practices) to be so far behind his peers that he did not even try to ‘catch up.’ Instead he decided to ‘let go.’ I argue that by letting go Engin rendered his body as docile and effectively excludes himself

from his football peers and becomes categorised as the 'Other.' How players are 'sifted and sorted' (as in Foucault's classifying and dividing practices) in the sporting arena is discussed by Fitzclarence and Hickey (2001, p. 128): the team hierarchy occupies the inner circle and is surrounded by those who show ability to play and then the 'Others' whose participation is peripheral. It is the players who occupy that inner circle, the prime space of the football pitch or sports hall, that are entitled to legitimately participate (see Sibley, 1995).

The peripheral 'Others' experience less time in the game or with the ball and will come to understand their sense of self through the excluding dividing practices exerted. In consequence, the power extolled by "those players who embody efficient articulation" in a sport is exerted on the 'Others' or non-team players (Shogan, 1999, p. 29). The workings of power not only have a bearing on physical prowess but on masculinity. I conjecture that Engin perceives himself as an Other and as surplus to requirements; the division between the periphery and inner circle is too great and in terms of physicality he already feels boxed out and excluded (see Sibley, 1995).

Furthermore, Engin articulates his discomfort in specific PE activities:

I've always hated, I don't know why but I'm very [long pause]. I tried to stay away from team sports because I think [pause] team sports give you this responsibility [pause]. And you have to carry this responsibility in regards to your athletic capabilities. And I was never a very fast runner, I was never a skilful shooter, [pause] so whenever there was like this football match or basketball match I, I could never perform as good. And I always felt bad because it was also my team mates that suffered, so I tried to steer away from team sports

Focus group one, 31 March 2008.

Football's governance and technology of dominance appears to have exerted PE and sport dividing practices amongst the males. In fact the modern game of football now commands a dynamic body and physical skill set and is another way to objectify, classify, and divide (see Foucault, 1977a). As Eichberg (1998b, p. 143, emphasis in original) argues:

[t]he old games of strength and endurance become marginalised, or they are transformed into quick and dynamic exercises (like football and boxing). ...The body's *energy* gets transformed into what is now regarded as a modern dynamic. The focal point for the new dynamics of sport has mutated into the production of results, and this constitutes the new form of *objectivity* in movement culture. Movement and activity have been subordinated to achievements: quantified, measured, registered.

This echoes Swain's (2000) research on the significance of football in the lives of 10-year old primary school boys. He found that some boys are "barely granted a look in during the games" and are further, "frequently publicly derided and ridiculed for their lack of skill and prowess" (Swain, 2000, p. 105).

According to Foucault (1977a) power can never be everywhere, so resistance is always possible. Pupils at Hilsea have found ways to break down PE's compulsory regimes to 'steer away' (Engin, Focus group one, 31 March 2008) and make the lesson more bearable. The following narrative illustrates the tactics used to 'avoid the ball' and arguably become invisible:

Fitnat: And then you didn't have the ball every time.
 You were [pause]

[Interrupted]

Engin: Yes, and you didn't, you could avoid the ball if
 you want to. My brother is SO skilful at that
 you have no idea.

Me: Was it just basketball or ...
[Interrupted]
Engin: No, football also.
Fitnat: No, I liked football.
Engin: No I didn't like football. I still don't like football
but it is a personal thing. There's nothing
wrong with it

Focus group one, 31 March 2008, my emphasis.

The injury and pain from breaking a limb whilst playing football is still engraved on another male participant's mind. Playing football as a youngster was not the participant's idea but he had been encouraged by 'significant others' to make him fit in and be more like a boy. His rejection of participating in conventional male team sports during PE appears to be a throwback to previous experiences earlier in his life:

I don't like sports that much because I'm not very good at
[inaudible] and when I was a kid I was pushed to be like sporty
because I was so fat and some people thought if I played
football it would be more boy-like and better for me to fit in and
stuff

Tayfun, Focus group five, 04 June 2008.

Tayfun's narrative illuminates the fact that significant others perceived him as being 'different' or 'abnormal' and believed playing a masculine activity such as football would 'normalise' him or inscribe some form of masculine bodily effect (Pringle and Markula, 2005). His experience also exposes the powerful discourses that operate to both normalise and divide individuals within society (Foucault's, 1977a).

The high status of football and participation in the game appears to be a normalising practice at Hilsea School. PE still equates with football for many

of the males, since, “[f]ootball was a key motif in the boys’ constructions of masculinities” (Frosh *et al.*, 2002, p. 12) and furthermore, one learns that the ‘policing’ of boys’ behaviour is regulated when boys are in each other’s company (Frosh *et al.*, 2002, p. 176). The above narratives suggest that the male participants are able to reject playing football in PE as a form of legitimate masculine activity and yet the rejection of the game and technology of dominance also instils feelings of resentment towards football. Zeki and Tayfun intimate they are disempowered – “different and less valued” (Pringle and Markula, 2005, p. 481) – through their perceived inadequacies in sports and PE because they are not skilled in football compared to their peers.

Tayfun wishes for a PE curriculum at Hilsea School that offers, “more individual sports not just regular team sports.” In his opinion the benefit of individual activities is to eliminate the competitive element that he describes as, “just way competitive” (Focus group five, 04 June 2008). In fact Renold (1997) went as far as to suggest banning football in PE so other forms of physical activities could be offered and explored. Clearly, many PE activities and sports provide a place to practice constructions and differentiations of masculinity. And yet, the male pupils who reject or do not align to the dominant masculine normalising practices in the male bonding, homoerotic PE and sport moments (see Brookey and Westerfelhaus, 2002) also become ‘Othered.’

Allowing females to play football with the males also goes against the dominant discourses and gendered normalising practices associated with the game – football represents a male only, masculine preserve and a legitimate space for judging masculine prowess. Permitting females to play football by association would mean a number of males could not be ‘themselves’ due to their perceived greater skill and physicality. The notion of the males not wishing to injure the females in a mixed game of football also masks them not wanting to injure their sense of masculinity (Focus group three, 26 May 2008).

4.5 Concluding Comments

Football in Turkey is a media event and not an everyday life activity (Pfister, 2011, p. 54) and thus a distinction can be made between the nation having an established football culture and them not having an embedded physical culture. The technology of dominance of football in Turkish culture can be explained by sporting events such as the FIFA World Cup offering all nations a potential stage, “that is unrivalled by any other cultural or political body” (Tomlinson and Young, 2006, p. 1). Jacobs (2010, p. 47) argues, “given that access to and awareness about specific sports are growing, it seems that this very notion of the pairing of localism and globalism should be part of the curriculum.”

The majority of males at Hilsea School appear to regard football and PE as synonymous, but this therefore gives a very restricted view and experience of exploring masculinity and physicality through the subject. Hilsea School also does not conform to either a ‘jock’ culture or a strong sports ethos. As a result, one of the few legitimate spaces in the school for males to physically explore different forms of masculinity of the self is arguably only during PE and the enrichment programme. The females are viewed as an unwelcome inconvenience and an injury concern in mixed activities such as football, because the males feel they will have to curb what it means to be masculine in PE. Wang’s (1977, cited by Dyson, 2006) PE research drew attention to a pupil driven ‘hidden curriculum’ exposing issues of discrimination, stratification, and the segregation of pupils. Bain’s research (1990, p. 32) on the hidden curriculum and interactions reported social relations, and “constitute social practices which may reproduce or challenge existing power relations.” Furthermore, Connell (1989, p. 300) views the hidden curriculum surrounding gender and sexual issues as “more powerful than the explicit curriculum.”

The limited portrayal of sports in Turkish culture (Akin, 2003) still impacts on the physical cultural experiences of the Year 12s today. For example, Sezen, whilst not wishing to cause offence, struggles to say that PE and sports at

Hilsea are not high profile and thus do not afford a mainstream gateway for pupil recognition and school prestige. This correspond with the high value Turkey places upon pursuing an educational (academic) gateway expressed in chapter one and echoed by some of the participants, who have given up playing sports to concentrate on their own educational aspirations.

An avenue, however, that is open to the pupils outside of the school ethos is in showing an affinity and allegiance with a Turkish Sports Club, expressed in the corridors through displays of pride, solidarity, and feeling. This supports the idea of football being 'exotic' and a media generated event (Pfister, 2011). These passions and feelings are rarely expressed in their own focus group narratives of PE and sports.

Lastly, I leave the final comment to Engin and Fitnat on the technology of dominance of football in Turkey:

- Engin: I mean LETS FACE IT, football and basketball rule everything basically.
- Fitnat: Actually football surpasses everything [giggles].
- Engin: Yes

Focus group one, 31 March 2008, my emphasis.

Building on the construction of masculinity in Turkish culture, the next chapter maps out the gendered performance in PE that was touched upon in the Proem in chapter one. More participants' narratives will become written into the text as they offer a layered perspective on how pupils negotiate physical culture at Hilsea School.

CHAPTER FIVE ~ THE PERFORMANCE OF GENDER

“the never-resting eyes of society” (Markula, 1995, p. 438).

“Boys, they don’t hear us [girls]”

Female pupil, Hilsea School, Research journal entry, 01 June 2009.

5.1 Introduction

Following the theme of the previous chapter, in which the participants narratives raised issues about the construction and differentiations in masculinity as part of the Turkish mainstream youth culture, this chapter addresses how mixed PE lessons at Hilsea School reinforce normalised gendered practices. In this chapter, I map the discourses of gender and normalising practices as to how pupils at Hilsea negotiate forms of masculinity and femininity during PE activities through the interplay of three sub-themes; physicality, PE kit, and performance of gender.

I surmise that the policy and practices of Hilsea’s PE department set the parameters of the power-knowledge (Foucault, 1980a) with respect to how pupils negotiate physicality, regimes of truth, normalising practices, and gendered performance surrounding the physically active body. The performative nature of PE is exerted through the disciplines of hierarchical observation, normalising judgement, and examination termed as a “means of correct training” (Foucault, 1977a).

As noted in chapters two and four, normalisation is “at once a field of comparison, a space of differentiation, and the principle of a rule to be followed” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 182). In the context of PE, pupils might be both judged and normalised according to time management, absences, or lateness; performance, lack of enthusiasm, and inappropriate body attitudes (Foucault, 1977a, p. 178). This chapter illustrates how the participants during

PE are able to diffuse and create expressive places to deploy their own technologies of the self and gendered performances (Bartky, 1988; Cole, 1993; Markula, 2003; Shogan, 1999) and therefore are not bound to the dominant discourses of gender and normalising practices. Foucault (2000, p. 132) uses the term “regimes of truth” and later “games of truth” that he defines as, “the ensemble of rules according to which the true and the false are separated and specific effects of power attached to the true.”

The change in delivery of the Year 12 PE programme and the availability of mixed activities elicited a spectrum of opinions from the participants. The PE programme differs to previous years at Hilsea, as it accommodates both single and mixed PE activities within a less formal lesson structure. Approximately eighty pupils are scheduled for PE at the same time, with a variety of mixed activities offered, including health-related exercise, racket games, volleyball, racket, and softball. The participants experienced formal mixed PE lessons in their primary school but at Hilsea they are grouped by gender for PE, known in Foucauldian terminology as ‘dividing practices’ (Foucault, 1977a), not for pedagogic reasons but due to timetabling and staffing constraints. The particular PE and sport spaces also contribute towards creating certain types of discourses and performances of gender (see Atencio and Wright, 2009).

5.2 Being Physical in Physical Education

“when a girl misses a goal [...] then all the boys start to say,
‘How can you do this?’” [Lots of laughter]

Sevinç, Focus group three, 26 May 2008.

As the participants recall their engagement in PE lessons, the focus group discussions start to expose moments filled with hesitation and silences (Berg 2007; Terkel, cited by Parker, 1996). I ‘read’ these gaps and silences to imply that, at Hilsea, only certain normalised generalisation discourses and

gendered practices (indicative of Turkish culture) are available for pupils. These 'hunches' are followed up later in face-to-face interviews six and seven with Sezen (04 June 2008) and Tutku (24 September 2008). I asked Sezen to explain how she felt when participating in PE and sport:

Well [pause] er like er at the earlier times when people are younger it's not that much of an issue because [pause] er [pause] I don't know there aren't many differences yet but [pause] er later on like [pause] er it becomes like, "Oh you were beaten by a girl" and like [pause] I don't know somehow it always comes up and even though they don't directly say, "OOOH how unattractive," you can just er [pause] think that, you just think it's always like, it's THERE and everyone is conscious of the fact that you're a girl and somehow this is supposed to make a big difference. [...] especially when I am playing basketball with the boys, sometimes, sometimes I do think about stuff, like maybe I should be more reserved [laughs] I don't know...

Interview six, 05 June 2008, my emphasis.

Sezen's narrative spoke of the power of self-governance and the discourse of gender and how it is palpable but often unseen, obscured, and unchallenged (Paechter, 1998, p. 94). Foucault asserts that judgments are made about a subject's actions through normalising practices of the body and these become assessed against what is considered fit and proper or 'normal.' Outside these norms, a subject can become judged as 'abnormal' (Danaher *et al.*, 2000).

Sezen also perceives some sports as possessing certain male traits by suggesting, "I think yes, certain sports have, er like require characteristics that are more accepted in males ...being a goal getter, being er like determined, [pause] strong." Tutku (Interview seven, 24 September 2008 and Research journal entry, 09, January 2008) recalls how in PE she and a male

made fun of such stereotypes that allude to the prevalent discourses shaping young people in Turkey. The need for determination in boys' PE (predominantly football) was implied during focus group three when Fuat commented about the importance of shouting at your team-mates during the 'game', to which Bora agreed. It is well documented (Macdonald, Rodger, Abbott, Ziviani and Jones, 2005; Paechter, 1998, 2000) that the majority of young women (girls) resist a mixed and more competitive PE learning environment, and, if forced to participate, become more disaffected and disempowered. Hence, another gendered practice to emerge surrounds the notion that "competitiveness confirms masculinity, not femininity" (Paechter, 1998, p. 100).

A number of scholars (Bordo, 1993; Connell, 1987, 1989, 2005; Leaman, 1986; Paechter, 1998; Sparkes, 1991) have suggested that school PE and sport (at least in the West) offers a strong tradition for such gender performances. Leaman (1986, p. 123) reports that in traditional PE, "girls concentrate upon activities with a broadly aesthetic aspect" whereas boys' PE involves activities that stress strength and skill. Similarly, Sparkes (1991 in Paechter, 1998, p. 84) states secondary phase girls' PE can be recognised by self-paced individual activities with an emphasis on personal and social education, and that boys' PE places emphasis on being the best and extolling sporting achievements.

Focus groups three (26 May 2008) and four (28 May 2008) highlight certain concerns towards introducing mixed invasion games such as football and basketball. Whilst a few females appear 'up for the challenge,' the males are reticent and less inclined to 'accept' females due to physical differences in size and strength. For example, the argument put forward by Bora and Fuat (males) against females playing football is that males are generally faster and stronger. Conversely, Neşe (Focus group three, 26 May 2008) perceives man-to-man (one-to-one) marking (i.e. close contact or touching) in mixed basketball as problematic "especially for the boys." Neşe's comment may also reflect Muslim codes of conduct regarding body culture and the concern for modesty (Benn, Dagkas and Jawad, 2011; Benn, Pfister and Jawad,

2011). Not only are there issues about close physical contact but there is a concern for females getting hurt or injured. Historically, the analysis of PE and sport in society has constructed women to be physically weak, reinforcing the patriarchal paradigm of male dominance in the physical arena (Andrews, 1993; Theberge, 1991). The normalised and normalising practice pertaining to females not being as physically strong as males appears to pervade the physical expectations and experiences of the young people, and their narratives allude to the concealing of certain social forces, such as masculinity, competition, physicality, and strength, when negotiating the gendered performances in PE.

Whilst a few females (Ipek, Melek) expressed enthusiasm and a desire to integrate with males in invasion games, like football and basketball, in practice this rarely happens (Field notes and Research journal entries, 21 November 2007; 09 January 2008). Tutku suggests that one reason for the tension when introducing mixed PE in Year 12 at Hilsea is that, “boys don’t perceive girls as sporty” and mixed PE is not problematic, “as long as we don’t make it into this battle” (Tutku, Interview seven, 24 September 2008 and Research journal entry 09, January 2008). Arguably Tutku’s narrative alludes to how the boys perceive the girls’ attitudes towards PE and sport and based on this premise, the girls should not challenge this perception by making mixed PE activities into a girls versus boys issue. Furthermore, Tutku’s perceptions also suggest a discourse of physicality, gendered performances and Gender Order that pervades Turkish society, and culture is replicated, if not nurtured as a microcosm within PE at Hilsea (see Koca and Hacısoftaoğlu, 2011).

Schools are considered sub-cultures of society, became apparent when one Hilsea female (not in Year 12) shares with me that when playing mixed sports, “Boys, they don’t hear us [girls]” (Research journal entry, 01 June 2009). Her experiences conjure up a multitude of meanings aligned with her perception of herself as unheard, unimportant, and invisible. The workings of power and gender as noted by Harvey and Sparks (1991, p. 166) explain power as, “expressed in peoples’ concrete knowledges, dispositions,

interactions, and relations (for example, their understandings and practices concerning gender-appropriate physical activity and bodily attributes)."

Engin (Focus group one, 31 March 2008) offers an illustration for creating an expressive and safe PE and sports place in which you are able 'to be you.' He divulges that his 'best' girlfriend (platonic) had been learning ballet and dance for about ten years. He intimates that she herself admits to being "overweight a little", and yet he perceived her as, "I mean she's not like OVERWEIGHT." Engin wants to emphasise the point that his friend, "enjoys ballet, she enjoys modern dancing and she's doing it. She is like Billy Elliot [long pause] saying NO [banging his hand down loudly on the arm rest] to boundaries" (Focus group one, 31 March 2008, my emphasis; referencing *Billy Elliot*, 2000). Engin perceived his girlfriend as a female equivalent of the film character Billy Elliot because she is not put off from performing on stage while carrying a few extra pounds instead of "these swan-like figures with thin elegant postures." She also does not conform to a gender of performance and normalising practices since, he also felt, "she's actually very tomboyish." It is important to appreciate from Engin's narrative the fact that he is able to recognise his friend's serious approach to ballet as a 'sport' through his admiration of her physicality and strength, whilst also acknowledging that ballet is not just a 'girly' pursuit.

The net games of badminton and volleyball piqued my scholarly interest during my participant observations for a number of reasons. Invariably these 'minor' games have a limited uptake, but can attract likeminded males and females as well as friendship groups. On the surface the games appear to be 'successful' examples of mixed activities but on closer examination, the net acts as both a divide and a normalising divide facilitating single-gender teams. Rather than mixed teams, teams are more-often-than-not comprised of male-only or female-only players. As the matches enter the final set, games become increasingly competitive, (despite Tutku's comment), while the winning of points boasts an array of gestures, laughter and screams. In badminton the net is physically pulled down so each player can see one another to facilitate any verbal interactions between the single-gender teams.

In contrast, the height of the volleyball net (men's) would elicit faces being pressed against the net or an arm stuck through the netting to make their presence felt 'on the other side' (Field notes, 09 January 2008).

The net symbolises Foucault's workings of power-knowledge and control where the "net-like organisation" (1980a, p. 98) perpetuates the normalising discourse of gender difference rather than integration. However, the events witnessed made me question if the young people could have supported a different PE perspective and experience that recognises and appreciates gender and performance (Research journal, 07 July 2008). In the next section, the focus group discussions map how the wearing of PE kit ritualises the performance of gender.

5.3 Physical Education Kit

"We are living in a country with the idiom, 'rules are made to be broken'"

Zeki, Focus group four, 28 May 2008.

The PE lessons at Hilsea are defined by the ritual of eighty pupils changing in to and out of their PE kit, and the focus groups provoke animated discussions of the PE department's policy and practices. The Year 9 PE kit policy states the pupils have to wear a plain white top and dark shorts or tracksuit bottoms, whereas Years 10 – 13 can wear any coloured plain top without logos. Risk assessments for health and safety in PE also dictate the wearing of sports shoes, socks, no jewellery, and hair tied back. The following focus group elicits a desire for PE kit to be practical and functional:

Fikret: Clothes comfortable for sports are ones that should be worn. So it depends on the person who is in the class.

- Özge: I think everybody must wear what they are comfortable in like not only white tee-shirt and not only like plain tee-shirts. You are going to do sport - that is what matters. [Laughs] It doesn't change the concept of the PE lesson [laughs].
- Tuğba: I think Year 9s should be able to wear what we can wear right now – I mean not just white tee-shirts – I don't really know the code but still, it should be freer because at school they can, we have the same dress code [school uniform], so why have a different thing for PE?
- Fikret: No PE uniform. As long as I can perform comfortably, it's okay

Focus group two, 22 May 2008.

An analogy can be made between wearing PE kit and school uniform with regards to its function as a governing device or technology to elicit conformity and homogeneity amongst pupils. Paechter (2007, pp. 114-115) claims that most pupils “find ways of altering school uniform or wearing it in such a way that this literal uniformity is resisted and undermined” and consequently, “the adaptation of school uniform is a means of low-level but permanent resistance to the disciplines of schooling.”

Similarly, the significance of wearing a uniform can be explained through Foucault's (1977a, 1979, 1980a, 1982) theorising on issues of power-knowledge and how this relationship has occupied a prominent position when applied to concepts concerning the body, in institutions such as schools, through normalisation and normalising practices. Through various disciplines and technologies individuals are regulated in their ways of being and knowing and in time have ultimately become self-regulating (Danaher *et al.*, 2000, p. xii). Here, self-regulation has combined, “knowledge, power, the control of the body, and the control of space into an integrated technology of discipline”

(Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982, p. 189). Consequently, the practice of having to wear PE kit is a means to both self-regulate and normalise the body in school.

Within a society, Foucault (1980a, p. 98) understands power to be used and acted upon by subjects “through a net-like organisation” and that power is always there but can only be exercised on free subjects. Importantly, the workings of power are exercised by the way they act upon individual actions, and then how “certain actions modify” technologies of the body (Foucault, 1982, pp. 219-220). Power relations are thus constantly changing and evolving through the action and reaction to each subject’s normalising practices. The use of technologies in society are mechanisms that “pacify, dominate and regulate subjects [...] which allow individuals to shape their own bodies and thoughts” (Danaher *et al.*, 2000, p. xv) and a means of achieving subjectivity. Subjectivity, is understood here as the “product of discourses, ideologies and institutional practices” (Danaher *et al.*, 2000, p. xv). Foucault’s technology of ‘bio-power’ (power over the body) is useful to help explain ways in which forms of PE at Hilsea become a site of gendered performance in which “self-regulating subjects” are produced. As (Danaher *et al.*, 2000, p. 75) explains “once our bodies and minds have been formed and formulated in particular ways, we then take it upon ourselves to make sure that we function in these ways, and remain good, healthy subjects.”

However, pupils at Hilsea diffuse the power and regulation of body ascribed to having to wear a certain type of PE uniform by wearing what they feel is most comfortable. This way of being can be understood through the workings of power and technologies of the self to transform the body’s image. To some extent the pupils are testing the boundaries of power and the possibilities of their social existence (Andrews, 1993) in the context of their PE experiences.

Without freedom, the participants would not be able to deploy technologies of the self and transform. The participants are both creations of the effects of power-knowledge on the body but at the same time also conduits of power (Foucault, 1980a). Indeed, Tayfun gives an example of self-regulation

alongside technologies of the self by clarifying his reasons for modesty in his choice of PE kit during lessons:

[y]er, I don't follow the rules [laughs]. It's kind of [pause] I just wear comfortable shorts and tee-shirt. But if I were to express my personality [multiple clicking noises of the pen Tayfun is holding] it would be very outrageous and [Nuray laughs] I think people [laughter in his voice] wouldn't handle it [laughs] [click of pen]

Focus group five, 04 June 2008.

Unlike the analogy between school uniform and PE kit, the young people perceive the discipline of an 'academic' classroom as being different to that which operates in the PE lesson. Özge states, "In other classes there is a discipline going on", to which Tuğba exclaims, "AH – OH" and Özge explains, "SIT, DON'T SPEAK, LISTEN" whereas in PE, "you are more comfortable" (Focus group two, 22 May 2008, my emphasis). I interpret the participants' attempts to modify the standard PE uniform as a signifier of their desire to experience freedom in some aspect of their learning and to express their subjectivity and physicality. However, this desire cannot be fully realised because of the inherent PE policies and practices and overarching school rules that exist (see Bramham, 2003).

The following dialogue between Nuray and Tayfun illustrates how PE clothing can be perceived as gendering the body:

Nuray:	[y]er, wearing shorts and a tee-shirt would work for PE classes. There is nothing much, like to show.
Tayfun:	Girls want to look like girls.
Nuray:	Yes.
Tayfun:	So they have the peer pressure and like... Yer, so wearing shorts might not be, because

boys normally wear it and it's very ridiculous to be compared with that but...

[Interrupted]

Nuray: [laughing] I've never thought like...

Tayfun: Yer, it's ridiculous to call a girl wearing shorts, like, a boy ... some people say girls shouldn't wear shorts, but I think it is ridiculous

Focus group five, 04 June 2008.

PE kit policy can create provocative comments as illustrated by Leaman (1986, p. 123) who notes, "the cultivation of femininity is often seen to preclude those physical activities which result in sweat, dirt, and muscular development, with their accompanying requirements to take showers, remove jewellery, and wear unflattering clothes" (see Evans, 1984; Leaman, 1983; Scraton, 1987). In fact, in the dialogue above, it is the female participant (Nuray) who considers wearing shorts in PE as being very practical and the male participant (Tayfun) who raised the issue that females perceive wearing shorts as gendered with masculine undertones; the image of a tomboy. Tayfun is very astute in recognising the workings of power and the normalising and generational practices, since many of the female participants did not wear shorts.

Whilst the 'standard' PE kit is considered by many participants to be too constraining in terms of function and comfort, the narratives also expose the underlying tensions between normalising judgements and the performance of gender. The visual contrast between the male and females' interpretation of the standard mixed PE kit suggests that the attire is perceived to be unfashionable and masculine, and thus unflattering for females to wear. The focus group discussions illuminate diffusion in the workings of power in the PE kit policy, in favour of a desire to accessorise the PE kit to signify gendered subjectivities. Accessorising the PE kit appears similar to forms of body adornment and displays (see Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman, 2002; Goffman, 1961; Hargreaves, 1986, p. 168). Each week I observe the same

pupils accessorise and adorn their body by wearing watches and jewellery, and many pupils, predominately females, wear fashionable Converse trainers rather than functional 'trainers.' The standard PE kit is visibly masculinised by males wearing football or basketball tops and feminised by females wearing pink, lace-edged tops, long cardigans, and leaving long hair untied (Field notes and Research journal entries, 19 November 2007; 28 November 2007). Delaney (1994, p. 161) explains, "[l]ong hair is both the glory and symbol of womanhood." Accordingly, how PE kit is worn and accessorised by the participants could be perceived as a visual adornment of gender.

As I drill deeper, the focus group narratives start to expose different degrees of complicity towards wearing the standard PE kit. Tayfun (Focus group five, 04 June 2008) states, "I don't follow the rules [laughs]" and a discussion from focus group four is more expansive:

Zeki: Wearing a white tee-shirt and black shorts is okay because we recognise Year 9s at least [Melek laughs] and we can get away from their way *yani* [laughing].

Melek: If I want to do some kind of sports then I would want to wear some comfortable clothes. I wouldn't want anybody else to give me some regulations [Zeki: restrictions] restrictions.

Tutku: Do we have any rules about shorts and stuff, I don't know, I don't really, I really don't know the PE regulations. That means they're not [inaudible]. I have no idea what they are.

Zeki: We can't have logos.

[Laughter]

Melek: Ha Ha.

Tutku: I get the point of that but *yani*, [pause]

Zeki: Nothing else.

Tutku: It does not really matter as long as the rules are not practiced. So long as the teachers

don't really enforce those rules, the fact that the rules exist may sort of curb the extremes [Melek: Ah] and the fact that they are not enforced sort of allows us to wear whatever we like without going over the top because we know that there is a rule somewhere. They are up there.

Melek: Ha Ha. Yes.

Sezen: I think there should be a rule.

Zeki: We have been living in a country in which we have the idiom, "rules are made to be broken."

[Background voices: Um and Ha Ha]

Tutku: I mean, but if you suddenly decide to enforce the rules, then that it would be a big problem.

Melek: Yes, yes, don't, DON'T do that for PE classes [laughing]

Focus group four, 28 May 2008, my emphasis.

The standard PE kit, as a normalising practice, has become diffused and to some degree, the pupils as a critical mass understate the importance of applying a strict PE kit dress code. The young people also voice a sense of social injustice in the stricter PE kit for Year 9s. Whilst one participant perceived the dividing practice of the, "plain white tops only" rule as a means of spotting and knowing who the pupils in Year 9 are, most considered this PE policy as unfair and felt a sense of injustice that every pupil at Hilsea was not being treated equally.

Lastly, the following excerpt reiterates how pupils both show off and/or cover their gendered performance during lessons by adapting the PE kit:

Tayfun: comfortable stuff that allows me to workout. And I don't think it is very important to show our personality and fashion style in this class

because some people are very judgemental.
But not in this class because we are not here
to show off, we are here to do our exercise.

Nuray: Yes.

Tayfun: But I know people who wear like brand labels,
track-suits and [pause] sweat suits like, but
that's for people who don't have anything to
do in the class. And they just try to cover their
inactiveness or lack of confidence by wearing
it

Focus group five, 04 June 2008.

In deflecting and altering the standard PE kit, the participants are creating expressive places to employ their own technologies of the self and individual performances of gender (Bartky, 1988; Cole, 1993; Markula, 2003; Shogan, 1999). The self-regulation of the gendered body becomes normalised and judged by the branding of the body with labels such as Abercrombie and Fitch, FCUK, and Lacoste. This adornment of the body image is perceived as a means of transforming the body and for others to 'hide' a lack of participation in the PE lesson.

Building on the rituals of changing into and wearing PE kit, the next section maps how the pupils negotiate the discourses that also shape the gendered performance during the lesson, through the activities pupils choose to participate in.

5.4 The Performance of Gender

"Girls' PE is very static whereas boys' is very dynamic and girls don't go for that"

Tutku, Focus group four, 28 May 2008.

Tutku's perception of PE at Hilsea illustrates the cultural expectations between discourses and gendered performance, and how 'doing' PE and sport exposes binary structures: male/female, single-gender/mixed activities, social/competitive, individual/team, private/public, and static/dynamic. Tutku and Melek, who comment on their frustrations while experiencing single-gendered PE lessons, intellectualise one binary structure:

[i]t's something to do with the fact that girls' PE is very static whereas boys' is very dynamic and girls don't go for that [pause] dynamic [pause]. And it's also very boring, so when boys come in you find yourself moving and having fun. Suddenly, you are doing team sports; you are doing it with them. If a group of girls play basketball and ten of the girls don't know how to play basketball it's not fun. Even if they [the boys] don't 'know' [how to play] they are much stronger, they run more and boys put themselves into that sport more, so that it becomes fun

Tutku, Interview seven, 24 September 2008.

In PE lessons I would like to have fun as much as I can, because lessons [in an academic setting] are extremely boring. Personally, I would like to play with boys, because I think they are more enthusiastic about sports. I don't like girly girls who just want to sit and get out of 'gym' [PE]

Female pupil, Research journal entry, 01 June 2009.

Melek's narrative highlights how 'girly girls' can negatively affect her PE experience and yet epitomises the regulating normalising practices (see Rich, 2004). Similarly, in Tutku's commentary, she emphasises that the energy males inject into a PE activity has the potential to ignite a female/female class to join in and be active. From the two narratives, it

became clear that single-gendered, female/female PE constricts the way that Tutku and Melek are able to both enjoy and fully participate in PE.

Further, Tutku reports that static PE is “very boring”; the nature of which appears to create a negative energy. However, from Tutku’s experience when males join a female/female PE class the energy and dynamic of the lesson alters. Following Foucault, Tutku conceptualises power as a positive energy rather than just as a negative concept (McNay, 1994). Gender-integrated activities create a shift in the dynamics. By incorporating males in a female/female PE activity, some females found that the lessons became liberating and thus more fun compared to the normalising practices and constraining gendered subordination.

The mind/body binary is often considered gendered and thus arguably hierarchical in relationship and value. As Leavy, Gnon, and Ross (2009, p. 261) report, “the mind-body binary puts men and women, masculinity and femininity, in opposition to each other; masculinity is located in mind qualities and femininity is located in the flesh” (see Hesse-Biber, 1996, 2006). For this reason the binary discourses in PE and sport are potentially problematic (Macdonald, 2002). The binaries espoused by the young people in the context of PE at Hilsea are not unexpected since Paechter (1998, p. 45) states “a dualist approach to gender underpins everyday experience” and the performance of gender is likely to permeate throughout the school and wider society (Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Paechter, 1998). Gendered performance, in terms of being static/passive or dynamic/active, is considered one of the defining features of being masculine or feminine (see Frosh *et al.*, 2002; Macdonald *et al.*, 2005) and appear to be characteristics, which regulate the expression of masculine and feminine subjectivities at Hilsea School. The nature of these binaries in PE is not definitive but signifies a division, both between and within the performance of gender.

From the participants’ perspective the practice of segregating males and females for PE in Years 9 - 11 is considered “weird” after experiencing mixed PE classes in their primary school (Tuğba, Focus group two, 22 May 2008).

Drawing on the problematic assumption that girls are not as physically strong or skilled as boys (see Roth and Basow, 2004), Melek contests that, “women, men, girls and boys shouldn’t be separated in classes.” She then qualifies her reasoning by saying, “I know that the boys are more powerful and more competitive but ... if we played sports together it would encourage us to be more, you know...” Zeki initially agrees with Melek, but after consideration states, “We are not that separated” (Focus group four, 28 May 2008).

During a focus group discussion about how pupils are grouped in PE lessons one participant also raised sensitive issues concerning sexuality and the importance of recognising diversity within the pupil population:

[t]ogetherness and development like growing. Like a non-gay boy, like straight or like gay has to be around boys or there are like lesbians, like may enjoy girls company or not. But I think we should acknowledge the diversity of the student body [long pause] [inaudible]. Yes [laughs]

Confidential focus group participant.

The participant is openly acknowledging, recognising, and validating the sexual diversity of the pupil population and alludes to the necessity for the exploration of one’s sexuality in a safe environment. Furthermore, sensitivity towards the groupings of pupils in PE could be one such space as one participant offers, “I believe in like togetherness and development and growing because we interact with each other all of our lives [inaudible].” However, the limited references made by the participants surrounding the sexuality and sexual orientation of pupils may be a reflection of the school’s ethos and the local culture. As Connell (1989, p. 294) cautions:

[i]n the mass high-school system sexuality is both omnipresent and illicit; to act or talk sexually becomes a breach of order, a form of ‘trouble’ ...it is a means of

maintaining order, the order of patriarchy, via the subordination of women and the exaltation of one's maleness.

The notion of the 'Gender Order' binary: "the current state of play" posited by Connell (1995, p. 139) places masculinity and heterosexuality as the dominant discourse and normalising practices. Gender 'Order' is set against any forms of 'the other' and is insidious, since it is silent, invisible, and often goes unchallenged (Brown and Rich, 2002; Rutherford, 1988). Nevertheless, the participants, by introducing sexuality discourse and despite the potential for 'trouble', can offer "a reading that might engender new positions and subjectivities in PE" (Larsson, Fagrell and Redelius, 2009, p. 7).

According to Nuray and Tayfun, the delivery of mixed PE compared to single-gendered PE is also problematic. Not being grouped with your own gender in PE can conjure up feelings of insecurity when performing in front of 'others' and this feeling can be further exacerbated if a pupil is not talented in an activity.

Tayfun: [click of pen top] [...] I don't talk to like, to my, er boy-friends...

Nuray: But some of the, I know some of my friends, some of my girl-friends [pause] er [pause] could have been distracted when some, if the boys are around because they also [pause] um complain, [pause] they would complain not being able to do a sport in front of a boy. I don't know if that makes sense but....

[Interrupted]

[Click of pen top]

Tayfun: If they feel insecure...

Nuray: And if they are not talented in the er [pause] in one kind of sport they wouldn't want [laughter in voice] to be seen by the others

Focus group five, 04 June 2008.

Single-gendered PE lessons can thus offer a space for pupils who do not want to be 'seen' by 'others' (e.g. a space to explore gender without comparison to a masculine or dominant discourse). The notion of mixed PE being a distraction could imply a myriad of social forces, such as physicality, sexuality, and social popularity converging all at once to impact on the experience. The sentiments of females not wanting to be "seen by the others" [males] and therefore, not being compared to masculine attributes, echoes some of Paechter's (2000, p. 105) findings on single-gender PE in England:

[m]ale sport, and to a lesser extent PE, is largely focused on group activity. It revolves around playing games, in public spaces, with other males. The focus is less on personal success than on that of the team. Female PE (particularly educational gymnastics) and the adult use of sports/leisure facilities, is more personal and private, focused on the individual body.

As another female expresses:

the attitude of the girls towards PE is like, I don't want to get sweaty, I don't want to do much or er get tired [...] and also like girls don't want to mess up their hair and stuff and they think if, well, you play basketball like your face will get red and any make up will just go [laughs]

Sezen, Interview six, 05 June 2008.

PE scholars argue that physical activity is strongly influenced by a pupil's age and gender, "with physical activity declining with age, and at all ages boys being more active than girls" (Hovell, Sallis, Kolody and McKenzie, 1999; Trost, Pate, Sallis, Freedson, Taylor, Dowda and Sirard, 2002, cited by Macdonald *et al.*, 2005, p. 196). In chapter four, boys' PE was offered as a

defining expression of masculinity. In contrast, girls are no longer complicit to the notion of playing organised PE activities and, in most instances, reject organised forms of school PE and activities that show their physicality or the strength of their bodies (Paechter, 2007, p. 124).

In Year 12, following a shift towards a focus on 'appearance', girls' disaffection with PE appears to be than just a Western phenomenon and an underlying factor in this research enquiry. Despite PE options being introduced into the curriculum, a clue to how appearance drives levels of participation is offered by Tutku who observes, "we girls, the only thing we do is we walk" (Focus group four, 28 May 2008). (I note that small public parks have been designed in the cities with walking tracks and sometimes fitness equipment. I often observe 'covered' women and some men briskly walking). This also suggests a passive conformity to a compulsory subject where in other cultures girls tend to avoid school PE (Paechter, 1998, p. 29). Paechter (1998, p. 29) concludes, "mixed PE does not serve young women very well." Further, in keeping with the produced and docile body is the notion that girls in PE are on 'display' and this is another factor why girls may reject certain forms of PE (see Williams and Bedward, 1999, 2002). Through the transition from primary to secondary phase schooling girls frequently "embrace a softer, more physically helpless identity which is more closely aligned with wider notions of femininity in society and the media" (Paechter, 2007, p. 125). The females appear to comply with the normalising discourses that espouse wanting to 'fit' in for 'appearance' reasons and thus avoid getting sweaty. As Sezen explains:

[m]aybe it's just not seen as very feminine to be very active because it is more like er ambitious getting what you want. Like being a good basketball player means like er getting the ball many times, that's not very feminine

Interview six, 05 June 2008.

Through the normalising practices of gender, the females are thus defining their relationship towards physical exercise (see Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Paechter, 1998; Rich, 2003). The emergence of the active/passive binary in relation to gender is important since it is far-reaching and similar to those embedded binaries that are prevalent in Western society. Bordo (1993, p. 11) concludes that the “active spirit/passive body is [...] one of the most historically powerful of the dualities that inform Western ideologies of gender.”

5.5 Concluding Comments

This chapter has mapped the different forms of gendered compliance and diffusion of power in the PE policy and practices that operate at Hilsea School. The three key issues to emerge were negotiating forms of masculinity and femininity, wearing PE kit, and the performance of gender through the introduction of mixed activities. The focus group discussions on the wearing of standard PE kit illuminated a number of forces at work, including a diffusion of power of the PE policies and a desire to maintain the male/female subjectivity. The participants' narratives supported a tension between developing a sense of self-esteem and agency in lessons, offset against a PE kit that is perceived as uncomfortable and masculine. Consequently, many pupils accessorise the standard PE kit to escape the rigours of the 'academic' classroom, in a desire for agency, and to express their subjectivity; this means wearing clothes that the majority of pupils also feel comfortable in. The Year 12s who regularly adapt, personalise, and transform the standard PE kit also set down a marker for experiencing freedom in at least this aspect of their learning. A sense of freedom or 'being free' in PE may also have roots in the less structured approach to lessons. However, the reality of actually taking responsibility for their own learning means that the lessons for some pupils become a constraint and boring, when the recognised constraints of lesson structure and 'discipline' are taken away.

As the young people recalled their engagement in PE lessons, the focus group discussions exposed an environment where certain normalising gendered practices permeated in and through the PE activities. However, a few participants have started to resist, challenge, and negotiate these constraints. The pupils who felt they could step out of the dominant discourses of gendered subjectivities and experience a different gendered performance would hopefully be more knowledgeable and informed in the choices they make about their future physical cultural experiences.

If mixed PE is to move forward as an empowering experience for all pupils (Macdonald, 2002), PE can be viewed as a legitimate space to 'move beyond' such gendered binaries as static/dynamic and cooperative/competitive. Indeed

much of what is learnt regarding the gender regimes of sport and PE could also be applied to benefit the many boys and men who are also marginalized by the constraining ideologies involved (Cockburn and Clarke, 2002, p. 652).

The participants' who engaged in the focus group discussions about the performance of gender and gender integration (Anderson, 2009) offer a different PE script to recreate a more empowering PE experience. In light of the shared focus group discussions, a different PE experience could be put forward at Hilsea by de-stabing the normalising discourses surrounding the performance of gender (see Frosh *et al.*, 2002; Markula, 2003). As Foucault (1979, p. 101) argues "discourse can be [...] a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy."

The complex gendered issues and practices will continue to be developed and critiqued in chapters six and seven. In the next chapter, discussions with the participants will bring to light how the inherent regimes of PE, namely the management of bodily secretions, can be problematic. However, alongside the management of bodily residues, the participants appear to resist and

thwart the regimes of PE through a desire to play, have fun, and 'be free' in lessons.

CHAPTER SIX ~ PLAY AND PURIFICATION

“The social body constrains the way the physical body is perceived” (Douglas, 1973, p. 93).

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will build upon and map how the inherent regimes of PE, namely perspiration and the management of bodily residues, can be problematic. However, the participants also appear to resist and thwart the regimes of PE through a desire to play, have fun, and ‘be free’ in lessons. Play’ and ‘having fun’ are descriptors which were used by the participants. The concepts of play (see Caillois, 1961; Howe, 2007; Huizinga, 1938) and ‘have fun’ / ‘having fun’ during PE have drawn attention from scholars attuned to the critical study of PE and sport (see Graber, 2001; Harris, 1994; Macdonald, Rodger, Abbott, Ziviani, and Jones, 2005; Paechter 1998; Smith and Parr, 2007; Whitehead, 1987). This is an important aspect contributing to the way in which the participants appear to experience PE.

Chapter six critiques how the more informal feel of PE in Year 12, examined through the concepts of play, fun, and being free, had to be tempered against managing the bodily secretions or natural by-products from being physically active in lessons. The notions of purification and cleanliness are significant in a setting such as Hilsea, since the regimes associated with PE expose the fault lines against which pupils cannot perform to their full capacity. The fault lines can be understood through Foucault’s (1977a) notion of normalising judgement. The social fabric of the PE changing rooms can affect pupils’ receptiveness to learn, especially if the changing environment is in a confined and cramped space which may affect the subsequent management of bodily residues from the physically active body e.g. perspiration and body odour (see Briefing Paper No. 16, 2002; Clay, 1995; DfES and DCMS, 2003; Leaman, 1986; Tinson, 1998).

The following discussion from focus group two encapsulates the deeper issues and complexities that have been mapped and critiqued so far:

- Tuğba: Changing is always a problem.
- Özge: Are there some people in the school who don't like PE lessons? I don't know?
- Tuğba: Yes, girls don't like changing.
- [Laughter]
- Tuğba: Ah, showers. It's not the changing it's the sweating part really. But I am thinking [...] it's a general feeling about PE. I have a suggestion [pause] showers. Girls don't really use the showers at school because...
- [Interrupted]
- Fikret: No one does.
- Tuğba: But, if it was encouraged or the showers looked a bit, may I say, cleaner...

Focus group two, 22 May 2008.

In this research enquiry the inherent practices and rituals of PE (i.e. changing, showering, and managing bodily residues) are identified by the participants as problematic, and appear to significantly impact upon the PE experience. Building on Foucault, Kristeva (1982) took the concept of the inscribed, docile body to theorise the abject body. The abject body can be viewed as a body that cannot be contained and 'leaks.' The leaking body in the context of PE and sport is a body that excretes "body fluids from various orifices, drop hair, spit" (Fusco, 2006b, p. 7). Bodily excretions can be viewed as pollutants and any sense of cultural order can be destroyed by the threat of contamination.

Significantly, Dobbins, De Corby, Robeson, Husson, and Tirilis (2009) research linked PE, 'play,' fun, and adventurous activities as a means of

disassociating PE lessons with school work (see also The Telegraph, 21 January 2009). Paechter (1998) reports pupils equally value the informal setting of PE. However, Hardman and Marshall (1999) reported in their draft world-wide survey that guardians and non-PE teachers perceive PE to be a break in the school day, 'fun time', and something that is not to be taken seriously. Arguably, Turkey's limited physical cultural history may also compound to a narrow experience of a PE and sports curriculum?

6.2 Play

A small group of males led by an 'alpha' male catch my attention as they frequently engage in unstructured activities that encroach into the space of structured activities in the sports hall (Field notes and Research journal entry, 17 October 2007). The male group congregate every lesson in a small room used for health-related exercise that is adjacent to the sports hall. Despite not being able to interview the males, I surmise that strength training lost some of its appeal after a few minutes into the lesson and subsequently the 'alpha' male appears to change the dynamics of the situation by concocting ways for the group to use their bodies, challenge their physicality, and demonstrate feats of strength and flexibility.

For example, I observed the males carry two blue gymnastics mats out from the health-related exercise room and place them at the back of the basketball court. Using the mats, they practiced 'gymnastic' movements like handstands, cartwheels, and dive forward rolls (Research journal entry, 17 October 2007). Their gymnastic moves soon progressed to include more daring movements: the alpha male sprints towards the padded wall and runs vertically 'up' and around in an arc (see appendix seven). (Seeing this sends shivers down my spine and I want to intervene, as I can see the potential for an accident and pupils sustaining injuries). The alpha male is clearly confident in his abilities since he demonstrates the move two or three times to the other males. (Since he did not return a consent form, I could not follow up to understand his 'subjective expression of self' but I surmise this is not

the first time he has performed such a feat). I am however less sure about the other males' abilities and have concerns they may not judge the speed, miss their footing, or fall due to gravity or from inertia. As it is, two males attempt the move without incident, other than my racing heart. This example conjures up notions of free running style activities defined as "the art of expressing yourself in your environment with no limitation" (Foucan, 2008).

Ethically, I decide to include this event although it drew attention to issues surrounding unstructured and unsupervised activities taking place around and amongst the 'regulated' PE options programme. Also, I acknowledge that the males are not focus group participants, so their gendered performance and possible little pockets of 'resistance' and/or more creative approaches towards learning and to mainstream PE is written cautiously, since it could not be followed up (see Foucault, 2000; Wellard, 2012). The males' unstructured free running style activities go beyond what the Hilsea PE curriculum options offered, and imply a desire for more physically challenging and 'risky' activities (Dobbins, *et al.*, 2009). Douglas (2002, p. xix) comments that for such activities to occur "risk perception depends on shared culture."

As the school year progresses I observe two male groups who appear to set themselves a range of thrill seeking activities and physical challenges. During a lesson I observed two males (friends of the alpha male) form a 'wheelbarrow' and 'walk' their way from the well of the sports hall, up two flights of stairs, where a mixed group were playing badminton, and then 'wheelbarrow' back down (Field notes, 19 November 2007; see appendix eight). Two days later, I observe the 'alpha' male's group drag the gymnastic mats out into the sports hall to practice wrestling holds and moves and perform martial arts kicks (Field notes, 21 November 2007).

In the New Year, I observed the alpha male and a friend use Pilates balls like 'space hoppers' to 'bounce' as quickly as possible from one side of the sports hall and back again. The Pilates balls were then replaced with basketballs where the alpha male demonstrates the shooting feats to be attempted. First, the boys sit straight legged on the court and attempt to shoot baskets from

outside the 'three point' zone. This is followed by attempts to shoot a basket whilst standing at the opposite end of the court (Field notes, 09 January 2008). These 'fun' activities appear to be gendered and replicate the male attributes associated with skill, strength, and competition, and a reflection of muscular strength, mastery, and athleticism (see Leaman, 1986; Paechter 1998; Sparkes, 1991).

Another example of an unsupervised activity is a game called 'long donkey' practiced by senior males and only observed during the occasional lunch break and Sports Day (Research journal entry, 19 May 2007; 2008; 2009; see appendix nine). I do not know the history of the game or if it is unique to Hilsea, but as the photograph portrays, the game involves a high degree of close physical contact and homoeroticism (Brookey and Westerfelhaus, 2002). The 'donkey' increased in length to reward the success of the game.

The observed forms of unstructured male physical activities appear to reflect the need for a more challenging PE environment (Cothran and Ennis, 1999). I surmise that the male groups still crave a competitive, masculine PE environment in a much larger, open PE space, where male traits of power, athleticism, and strength can be overtly performed. In fact their playfulness in this particular context may be a rejection of how mainstream PE is now perceived as being too professional or only attainable for the élite few (Howe, 2007; McNamee, 1998, p. 84). Sezen feels sport is not taken seriously at Hilsea and this 'feeling' perhaps permeates the PE lessons? In a high academic setting, I also conclude that there may be a rejection of traditional games or 'achievement' sports (Bale and Philo, 1998) if the pupils cannot perform to a particular standard, make a commitment to the required disciplined practices, or to disassociate PE with other forms of school work (Dobbins, *et al.*, 2009). Nevertheless, Tayfun, Zeki, and Tutku's narratives allude to PE as different from other subjects, since it is a course all pupils share throughout their time at Hilsea School. As Tutku explains:

[w]ith PE at least maybe its common ground for everyone you know to play at sports [inaudible] and maybe it helps in some

way these people who can't share in with the other experiences. It helps to have sports there always and something everybody can do. That's what I mean about [not] judging people on their skills

Interview seven, 24 September 2008.

The notion of play, observed during the PE lessons, appears to allow for a spectrum of pupil interpretation. Without being able to interview all pupils observed during the participant observations, I interpret 'play' to embrace a range of pupil experiences from the 'professional' recognised game (mastery) through to the informal and social activities (spontaneity). For example, the participants asked me (as a teacher) why they are not allowed to read a book or study notes whilst track walking or using the cardio-machines. Tutku perceived PE as a time where they could 'switch off' and 'not have to think.' Others also felt that Year 12 and Year 13 PE should only be compulsory for those pupils not regularly playing in a school or Club Team (Field notes, 04, October 2007; 03 January 2008; Focus group four, 28 May 2008; Interview seven, 24 September 2008). I observed a male not participating in PE bring a copy of Fortune magazine into the sports hall and flick through the pages during the lesson. Without having interviewed the boy, it is difficult to determine the multiple readings of this event, but I suggest it is an example of the dividing practices in education and the hierarchies of academic subjects and lack of interest when taking part 'from the side-lines' (e.g. scoring or umpiring).

Huizinga's seminal book, *Homo Ludens* (1938) theorises play as a cultural practice rather than a biological or spontaneous phenomenon only evident in childhood. According to Huizinga, play is a special form of social activity, typically involving fun, enjoyment, and pleasure. He characterises play as a "free activity" and "standing quite consciously outside 'ordinary' life as being 'not serious', but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly" (Huizinga, 1938, p. 13). Huizinga's concept of play ties in with the Year 12s' notion of being 'free' and of a fun PE environment at Hilsea School, and yet

the notion of play and being free in PE allows for a spectrum of pupil interpretation.

Caillois (1961) in *Man, Play, and Games*, extends Huizinga's theory of play, in saying "play must be defined as a free and voluntary activity, a source of joy and amusement" and as "an occasion of pure waste: waste of time, energy, ingenuity, skill" (pp. 5-6). Play can be understood as a 'subjective expression of self' and entails both the mastery of skills and submission or letting go. Caillois (1961) conceptualises the complexity of play to include different forms: (competition –*agon*, chance –*alea*, simulation –*mimicry*, and vertigo –*ilinx*) within the bounds of freedom and rules. Caillois (1961, p. 23) describes *ilinx* as games:

which are based on the pursuit of vertigo and which consist of an attempt to momentarily destroy the stability of perception and inflict a kind of voluptuous panic upon an otherwise lucid mind. [...] it is a question of surrendering to a kind of spasm, seizure, or shock which destroys reality [...] and may induce a feeling of ecstasy.

Illox, (Greek for 'whirlpool', or vertigo), is used as a means of altering perception through activities such as dancing, children spinning round and round until they fall down, and in the Turkish context the movements of whirling dervishes: the institutional form and ritual for professional whirling dervishes requires the control of vertigo. Howe (2007, p. 49) states "sport is, or has become, the antithesis of the play out of which it grew and eventually mutated." Further, the term 'to play' is "a directed yet adaptive response to a dynamic situation" (Howe, 2007, p. 50). In this regard the young people also appear to be reclaiming the fun element associated with play in physical education (see Wellard, 2012).

6.3 Having Fun

Alongside notions of play and unstructured activities, the participants offer the word ‘fun’ as an adjective to describe their PE experience:

Females:

Sevinç:	Fun
Fıtnat:	Fun and active
Tutku:	Have fun together
Demet:	Fun and interesting
Melek:	I enjoy the facilities and activities [...] Inspiring
Tuğba:	It’s still great fun
Duygu:	Joyful

Males:

Bora:	It was fun to...
Tayfun:	Fun (sometimes)
Engin:	(more) fun than one would expect to be
Fuat:	Amusing
Fikret:	Enriching

See appendix five for a selection of the participants’ responses.

The young people in this research enquiry perceive PE as a subject where they can ‘have fun.’ As the young people move into their senior years (Year 12 to Year 13) PE appears to take on a less structured or a more ‘recreational’ feel. Fıtnat and Engin (Focus group one, 31 March 2008) acknowledged that PE is not a subject spoken about with their families and in keeping with the low emphasis on physical culture in Turkish society (see Koca and Hacısoftaoğlu, 2011). Following Smith and Parr (2007, p. 37), it can be seen that “young people held an amalgam of views regarding the nature and purposes of PE that centred, for the most part, upon perceptions

of fun and enjoyment and the extent to which sociability is recurrently generated in lessons.” Smith and Parr’s (2007) findings echo Tutku’s written comment about the PE experience at Hilsea School being about “having fun together.”

PE also appears to relate to the fact that, “pupils do not choose PE in school” so it was not a class where you, “boast your skills, since everybody takes it: The important thing is to have fun” (Tutku, Focus group four, 28 May 2008 and Interview seven, 24 September 2008). Following Csikszentmihalyi’s Flow Model, (1975) fun is the balance between the skills of the participant and the challenge of the activity (see Griffin, Chandler and Sariscsany, 1993, p. 64). ‘Having fun’ is seen as a short-term extrinsic form of satisfaction or motivation whereas joy, enjoyment, or pleasure are long-term effects (Griffin, Chandler and Sariscsany, 1993, p. 65). This equates with the habit of young people living in the here and now (see Whitehead, 1987).

In Turkish youth culture media discourses (i.e. USA TV such as Gossip Girl, Buffy the Vampire, One Tree Hill, and MTV) the focus on body sculpting or bodily projects portrays males as buff and lean and females invisible through excessive dieting. Such discourses are defined by young people having the power and control to maintain a body without flaws and a desirable commodity (see Pronger, 2002). However at Hilsea, pupils’ minds are concentrated on the gateways to educational, socio-economic currency, and future gains, and less on developing a physical currency. I surmise from the data that a pupil’s cerebral attributes are perceived, by the participants and within their culture, as being more useful and important than their bodies and health. Whitehead’s English study (1987) identified both boys and girls as giving up sport for the advancement of their future lives in terms of careers:

These [results] show that some of the teenagers are concerned to use their time for whatever will be the greatest long-term benefit in their lives (e.g. a career), and they do not see sport in this light (Whitehead, 1987, p. 30).

Whitehead's conclusion resonates with many of the Year 12s' PE experiences and educational choices.

Furthermore, I question what the act of having fun actually means to Year 12s? The participants allude to the notion of fun when they mention adventure education and 'thrill seeking' activities (see Dobbins *et al.*, 2009; Wellard, 2012). As mentioned in chapter five, for other participants, having fun only appears to make sense when they can also socialise and be with friends during classes. Harris's (1994, p. 148) research concludes that pupils "are more concerned that exercise offers them immediate gratification such as fun, an opportunity to enjoy themselves, and to have a good time with their friends." Closely linked to having fun in lessons is an element of play. As Howe (2007, p. 55) posits: "play challenges sport's purpose and value. [...] Where sport threatens to lose itself in too-serious technical elaboration [...] there is always play to puncture the bubble."

The notion of play and having fun also connotes the desire of 'being free' (see appendix five). For example, I observed some females taking off their trainers and socks and walking bare foot on the grass instead of walking on the artificial track (Field notes, 24 September 2007). Their actions appeared to be liberating and represent a desire to reconnect with nature. The move away from outdoor PE and the 'anti-nature' character of 'modern' sport is eloquently expressed, "with an overwhelming amount of concrete rather than just pure, uncontaminated, unmanipulated nature [...] and the [...] near-laboratory settings" (Galtung, 1984, p. 14). This leads to the notion of having fun in PE being obscured by issues related to sanitised and clean bodies.

6.4 Body Politics: Odour and Smell

Demet (Focus group three, 26 May 2008) shares that body odour is especially repugnant when certain male pupils return to the classroom after PE. In her jokingly mannered voice, she tries to make light of the issue but underlying this tone is her evident discomfort with the smelly learning

environment. Other females in the focus group verify her sentiments, whilst the males laugh or stay mute. Similarly when PE activities take place in confined and unventilated facilities, there is frequently a distinctive smell of body odour that is quite overpowering (Field notes, 19 November 2007; 26 November 2007). I observed that the participants come to school armed with deodorising and perfuming products as a countermeasure to mask unwanted bodily secretions in an effort to smell clean (Field notes, 15 October 2007). As Lefebvre (1991, p. 198) explains, an:

immense deodorizing campaign, which makes use of every available means to combat natural smells whether good or bad [...] to identify places, people and things by their smells. [...] They 'inform' only about the most fundamental realities [...] the sense of smell had its glory days when animality still predominated over 'culture', rationality and education – before these factors, combined with a thoroughly cleansed space, brought about the complete atrophy of smell.

The atrophy or neutralising of smells by cleansing products and cleaning rituals have the disciplining effect of producing 'acceptable' and 'educated' pupils, who are presented to a society and function in the preferred cultured and bodily form. Culturally, Douglas (1966, p. 121) describes perspiration as one of the "margins of the human body." Perspiring and possibly body odour management are therefore clearly a concern for young people, especially at a time in their lives when body awareness, body confidence, and self-image issues are heightened and any body odour issues can become socially debilitating. In Foucault's image of the docile and worked body, the body, through the powers of civilisation, socialisation, and modernisation has lost its natural form and state (Cox and Thompson, 2000; Gilroy, 1997). Similarly, with respect to the nature/nurture binary we have the "pre-existing organic body versus the socially constructed body" (Markula, 2006).

To put body odour and smell in context, sport is often "intimately connected with sweat and a certain kind of pungency that permeates the sporting body"

(Hockey and Allen Collinson, 2007, p. 122). As humans, our sensory system helps us become aware of surroundings and our olfactory system, or sense of smell, is one of the most powerful.

Odours are invested with cultural values and employed by societies as a means of and model for defining and interacting with the world. The intimate, emotionally charged nature of the olfactory experience ensures that such value-coded odours are interiorized by the members of society in a deeply personal way (Classen, Howes, and Synnott, 1994, p. 3).

Smells are therefore both emotive and evocative (Lefebvre, 1991) as they are linked to memory and can signal danger and fear through the release of pheromones - 'a carrier of excitation' (Hopson, 1979, p. 79). Our own personal smell becomes more pronounced during puberty and coincides with an increase in grooming and preening behaviours (Hannaford, 1995), self-surveillance (Howson, 2004), and wanting to smell clean as an index of cleanliness. This is borne out by Lefebvre (1991, p. 197) who notes the adverse effect of modernisation on our sense of smell:

[s]uch overwhelming and villainous smells are made up for in nature by their counterparts [...] by the miraculous scents of flowers and by the odours of the flesh. [...] dwelling on this space, which is in any case fast disappearing under the current onslaught of hygiene and asepticism. [...] the pertinent fact is that everywhere in the modern world smells are being eliminated.

Long before global concerns with germs and disease; such as obsessive-compulsive disorder, chlorofluorocarbons and aerosol sprays, energy, air pollution, and water concerns, cleanliness had religious undertones "Cleanliness is next to Godliness" (Starrett, 1995, p. 959). Douglas (1966; 2002, p. xi) explains that any form of dirt acts against social order because of the threat of contagion. Thoughts on cleanliness and hygiene regimes spill

into the Western psyche and the desire to eradicate all germs and diseases (Howson, 2004) have become very topical in recent times through the pandemics of SARS, H5N1 bird flu, and H1N1 swine flu. Personal hygiene habits in such times have caught the media's attention and as Douglas (1966, p. 114) explains, how a society deals with the disorder of dirt shows its boundaries; a power that would "reward conformity and repulse attack." She concludes that:

[w]e cannot possibly interpret rituals concerning excreta, breast milk, saliva and the rest unless we are prepared to see in the body a symbol of society, and to see the powers and dangers credited to social structure reproduced in small on the human body (Douglas, 1966, p. 115).

In ancient Judaism, uncleanness or pollutants included "bodily discharges especially the menses and seminal fluid" (Neusner, 1973, p. 108). In the Turkish context, menstruation carries connotations of being unclean and is often given as a legitimate reason for *not* participating (or participating with limited activity) in a PE lesson (my emphasis). In traditional Turkish culture, male circumcision (generally between five and twelve years of age) is still a rite of passage and a form of celebration, and yet the onset of menarche for a girl is not recognised. Menstruation and menstrual bleeding have been identified as a source of danger (Kristeva, 1982). Male genitalia are a source of pride whereas female genitalia appear to be a source of shame (Delaney, 1994). A 'lack of cleanliness' is a bodily example of a normalising judgement that requires disciplining and a corrective measure of training (Foucault, 1977a). Foucault gives the instance in schools of those pupils' who are clean, tidy, and docile being segregated and having better chances in their schooling than those who are unclean, untidy, and who cannot keep still. Further, pupils today who are diagnosed with attention deficit hyperactivity have allegedly been prescribed medication to make them 'teachable' alongside the majority of other 'trained' pupils. As Douglas (1992, p. 35) observes, "each culture discriminates, but the hierarchical one does it overtly,

handing out badges of difference; the individualist one does it covertly, by ignoring the powerless.”

6.5 Perspiration and Purification

The focus group discussions and participant observations intricately link the issues surrounding the changing room environment and space, changing into and out of PE kit, and the shower arrangements. As the proem in chapter one highlights, the subject of PE is ritualised with pupils using the communal changing rooms to change out of their school clothes into appropriate PE clothing. Subsequently, after the PE lesson, the young people have to learn how to manage their bodily secretions (e.g. perspiration, saliva, mucus) that naturally occur during/after being physically active. However, being active in PE during the school day raises concerns with practicing good personal hygiene and being able to continue the rest of the school day in an ‘acceptable’ manner.

Nuray’s narrative in focus group five gives a clear picture of the issues involved:

[y]er, I don’t want to do, actually do sport [pause] between the classes because when I do a sport I want to be really active in it. So I do get, like sweaty and I [pause] want to [pause] take a shower after I do sports. So, its, yes it’s been a bit [pause] disturbing to do sport

Focus group five, 04 June 2008.

From Nuray’s perspective, when she participates in ‘sport’ (PE) she wants to be “really active” but the present timetabling and shower arrangements impinge on her having a beneficial experience. Further, Tayfun shares his concerns:

[y]es, I don't like the idea of sweating and smelling. But I don't think the facilities of the changing rooms are good enough. Actually, they are very bad. It smells very bad. The closet, like the toilets, it mixes with the air and sweat smell. There should be more air conditioning. [...] But, it makes us smell bad. And for that reason I just, I try not to sweat too much when I am doing my exercise because it really bothers me [pause] actually if I go to class or lunch

Focus group five, 04 June 2008.

Pupils would exit the changing rooms complaining to me, "it stinks in there" or "it smells really bad" (Field notes, 05 March 2008). Perspiring and the management bodily odours deters Tayfun from fully participating in PE lessons. Both Nuray and Tayfun's narratives illustrate their feelings and concern with self-surveillance, self-policing, and grooming issues (Hannafor, 1995; Howson, 2004). Due to the contextual complexities of the communal changing rooms in Turkish culture where the body is under close scrutiny, the 'show and shower' space becomes a site of the 'Foucauldian confessional' (Cover, 2003, p. 59). Pupils not only feel insecure from cultural constraints imposed by Westernised architectural design but also with how to manage the loss of body modesty and privacy.

Tayfun explains the cultural complexities associated with using a communal changing room:

in Turkey, people don't shower [pause] in the general like area. It's like bad. It's not bad, it's just not in their tradition. It's not good but people should be able, shouldn't be ashamed to take their clothes off and just shower

Focus group five, 04 June 2008.

Tutku's comment "we are allowed to undress in front of people" (said with laughter in her voice) alludes to the Muslim religious/cultural preferences operating in Turkey and why communal changing rooms can be problematic for some Hilsea pupils (Focus group four, 28 May 2008). A myriad of practices appear to be deployed by the pupils to manage the communal and public PE changing rooms including arriving very early, changing very quickly, arriving late, or using the WCs (Research journal, 25 September 2007). In traditional Muslim culture there is a code of conduct and an expectation of modesty surrounding public nudity (see Benn, Pfister and Jawad, 2011). In Muslim culture even occupying a same-gendered communal PE changing room may be a source of anxiety (see Kleindienst-Cachay, 2011, p. 96). The situation is compounded by the fact that changing room spaces are characteristically cramped, confined, and inadequate for the pupils' needs (Clay, 1995; Fusco, 2005, 2006a, 2007). Gürel's (2008, p. 231) study of the Turkish domestic bathroom as, 'a modern space' demonstrates "a desire for belonging to the industrial West [that] coexists with a threat of destroying [...] 'everything we know', as a universal idea of modernisation spreads through this ordinary domestic space and its everyday practices."

One male at Hilsea confided in me that the changing rooms are a place where he had experienced homophobic and sexual bullying, specifically 'name calling.' Subsequently, I learnt that this particular group of homophobic bullies have moved to another changing room and this appeared to alleviate the situation. However, without having interviewed these males, I understand through their prejudice that homosexuality can carry a stigma, (i.e. that the males would become blemished and contaminated by association – see Goffman, 1963). For the 'victim' I recognise how language can be derogatory, encoded with various negative messages and images, which could insult his embodied sense of masculinity. However, this survivor of sexual bullying insisted that the matter was not to be followed up and this event specifically highlighted the ethical issues (confidentiality, sexuality, ethnicity, prejudice, bullying) faced as a researcher when exploring and following up sensitive bodily issues. As mentioned in chapter three, it should be noted that certain participant observations and sensitive conversations shared between the

participants and researcher remained 'off the record' and required self-censoring to uphold confidentiality issues and ethical concerns (see Greig, Taylor and Mackay, 2007; Plummer, 2011). Further, studies by Cover (2003) and Johnson (1996) alert me to how nudity and the gaze in single-gender communal 'locker-room' spaces can become sexualised.

Emergent issues surrounding perspiration and 'purification' are offered by Tutku, "Boys get more sweaty than I ever can. Boys don't perceive girls as sweating. That was taught to me this summer: Girls don't sweat, girls don't fart. There is that perception about girls" (Interview seven, 24 September 2008). Tutku's narrative implies that the performance of gendered subjectivities includes how boys in PE and sports have permission to sweat profusely. However, girls' underlying participation in PE and sport is perceived as so low key as to not warrant perspiration issues. Scholarly research (see Browne, 1992; Hay and Hunter's, 2006; Rikard and Banville, 2006) has shown the negative side effects associated with females being physically active during secondary school phase PE.

In this research enquiry, the participants also raised concerns with PE clothes and changing, the timetabling of PE lessons, perspiration, body odour, and with managing the rest of the school day. These are important topics for future study since they are factors that disaffect pupils from enjoying and participating in PE (Cox, Coleman, and Roker, 2005, p. 11). In fact one way to combat this negativity is to empower pupils to redesign their changing rooms and, by doing so, attribute more ownership to their learning environment and PE experience (see Brooks and Magnusson, 2006; Cale, 2000; O'Donovan and Kay, 2005).

The participants' aversions to the bodily secretions produced from participating in PE can be examined from an understanding of cleanliness. Cleanliness in a society is a sign of civilisation and modernity and thus used as a marker between groups and individuals (Elias, 2000). Close attention to cleanliness may attract, as well as repel and estrange, others. Foucault (1977a, p. 199) details a growing fear of the abnormal individual within

society and thus the need for segregation, as a means of disciplinary control, through enclosed institutions such as hospitals and sanatoriums. Normalising practices and technologies of the self produce clean and healthy bodies whilst the diseased and unhealthy population of a society are segregated into designated places (Douglas, 1966; Foucault, 1982), reminiscent of London's 'the great unwashed.' Foucault (1980a, p. 55) depicts the modernisation of society as the:

social body which needs to be protected, in a quasi-medical sense. In place of the rituals that served to restore the corporal integrity of the monarch, remedies and therapeutic devices are employed such as the segregation of the sick, the monitoring of contagions, the exclusion of delinquents.

The following illustrates how a contaminant was perceived as a threat to the community at Hilsea, when very early on in the study there was an outbreak of head lice. The school attempted to address the issue quickly and sensitively to contain the outbreak and reassure the school community. However there was a ripple effect when one Year 12 female pupil clearly wanted to protect herself from contamination (danger). The girl in question flatly refused to use the communal PE changing rooms or change into her PE kit (Field notes, 10 September 2007). In traditional Turkish culture, hair being infested with head lice may also be a signifier that a girl comes from a rural or working-class environment (Delaney, 1994). Culturally, the term 'dangerous' can be understood to include, "some derogatory epithet such as 'dirty', 'polluted' or 'unacceptable'" (Douglas, 1992, p. 39). The notion of danger is also a reflection of "which dangers are terrifying and which can be ignored" (Douglas, 2002, p. xix).

Building on Douglas (1966), Sibley (1988, p. 414; 1995, p. 87) suggests that, the purification of the body extends to capture the purification of space and society as a form of control and conformity. Particular bodily functions can bestow feelings of shame, embarrassment, and repugnance, and those shrouded in taboo, are "passed over in silence" (Elias, 2000, p. 115).

Parallels have been made between Foucault's 'Order of Things' (1970) and the more discrete bodily functions. Brackenridge (1997, p. 128) explains that taboos are of interest since they reflect how society is dealing with and rationalising "dissonance in social behaviour." Douglas (1992, pp. 27-28) surmises from her research that:

[d]anger in the context of taboo is used in a rhetoric of accusation and retribution that ties the individual tightly into community bonds and scores on his mind the invisible fences and paths by which the community co-ordinates its life in common.

A number of young people during the focus group discussions expressed their dismay that Hilsea did not have a swimming pool facility. As Bora, a male participant, explains:

- Bora: A swimming pool might also [lots of laughter] help this school.
- Demet: Yes.
- Bora: Because [pause] it isn't really a very good er time, pastime when there is no swimming pool in the school, it is really hot in the summers and people really need to relax

Focus group three, 26 May 2008.

Bora's views present swimming as a hobby and the benefits of aquatics as more cerebral and psychological than physical. However, cleansing rituals are a fundamental part of Turkish/Muslim culture. Foucault (1986, p. 26) describes this as a ritual of "purification that is partly religious and partly hygienic, such as the hamman of the Moslems." Likewise, in Western cultures in the nineteenth century, "the building of wash-houses and swimming baths was promoted [...] on hygienic grounds" (Eichberg, 1998a, p. 60). In relation to the notions of washing and scrubbing, such as the

Haman or swimming pool, Sibley (1988, p. 409) informs us that purification in such a space denotes “a distaste for or hostility towards the mixing of unlike categories, an urge to keep things apart.” PE policies and practices denote ‘an urge to keep things apart’ through the rituals of not mixing – genders, clean/unclean bodies, clean/unclean PE kit. When considering physical culture, PE is steeped in traditions and rituals, as seen by the wearing of white PE kit in primary schools that “denote ‘cleanliness’ and simultaneously connote ‘discipline,’ ‘health’ and ‘attractiveness’” (El-Khoury, 1996; Fusco 2005, 2006a; Hargreaves, 1986, p. 168; Sibley, 1995). These underlying practices reflect the cultural and social workings of power to promote human welfare and offset ‘disease’ (Foucault, 1982).

6.6 Concluding Comments

A significant outcome to emerge from the research enquiry at Hilsea is the emphasis on ‘fun’ in PE, and the pupils’ engagement is posited in contrast to the performative and dominant health discourses currently shaping Western PE policies and curriculum practices. The paradoxical nature of wanting to have fun in PE at Hilsea School is juxtaposed by the focus groups, which expose pupils’ disempowerment and feelings of discomfort associated with managing body residues and personal hygiene after PE lessons. The situation is exacerbated when pupils have to return to the confines of a hot and/or cramped classroom to continue the rest of the academic day.

The impression left in exploring the notions of play and purification, is that the young people have an underlying desire for cleanliness, driven by a concern with self-surveillance (Howson, 2004), normalising judgements, and a “dream of a liberation of pure and everlasting flesh” (McWhorter, 1989, p. 612). But I sense that the hygienic practices of, “washing, scrubbing, isolating and disinfecting” (Douglas, 1966, p. 32) cannot be fully realised at Hilsea School, and instead the unwashed body is managed by masking bodily secretions with deodorising products. The ingrained rituals of an everyday PE lesson have exposed an oblique part of the curriculum that is culturally and

contextually constructed. Fittingly, Douglas (1992, p. 32) concludes that, “New knowledge must perforce discredit old knowledge” before current PE policy and practices can be updated. A suggestion expressed during focus groups two (22 May 2008) and five (04 June 2008) in reference to betterment, would be for Hilsea School to modernise its changing rooms and showering arrangements, coupled with the timetabling of PE lessons.

I also observe pupils replicating the practices of chewing gum and spitting that are often graphically portrayed by professional sports players during televised matches and media images (Field notes, 11 February 2008). Practices such as spitting illustrate potential cultural differences in terms of bodily practices and social behaviour (Douglas, 1973, 1966; Kuzmics, 1988). I understand for example that the practice of spitting in Muslim culture has its origins in Ramadan and the Holy month of fasting. As Douglas (1966, p. 121) notes, “[t]his is the clue which explains the unevenness with which different aspects of the body are treated in the rituals of the world.”

Finally, chapter seven will build on the complexities mapped and critiqued thus far by addressing the body, PE spaces, and surveillance to examine the cultural ideal of the body and the meaning and value ascribed to this shape (see Coward, 1985, 1992; Murray, 2008).

CHAPTER SEVEN ~ BODY-WORKS AND THE GAZE

“culture’s grip on the body is a constant, intimate fact of everyday life” (Bordo, 1993, p. 17).

“Adolescent girls, from Western culture, reportedly spend much time worrying about what their bodies look like to themselves and to others” (Oliver and Lalik, 2001, p. 303).

7.1 Introduction

The final themed chapter maps the normalising discourses of the performance of the body that are implicit in the architecture of Year 12 PE at Hilsea School. Chapter seven draws on earlier themes that define PE at Hilsea, to better understand the pupils’ bodily PE and sports experiences such as the performative nature of sport and feelings of being ‘on show’ (Engin, Focus group one, 31 March 2008). The chapter will critique how body-works issues become heightened through the normalising judgements of self-regulation, and self-checking or ‘self-policing’ of the body during PE lessons (see Bartky, 1988, p. 62). In the context of PE, the concept of the body also needs consideration based on the notion of having ‘two bodies’, one that is social and one that is physical (Douglas, 1970).

7.2 Body Politics in Physical Education

The following narrative between Engin and Fitnat concerning body-works issues was captured on the recording device while I was answering the office telephone:

Engin: You gained weight?

Fitnat: Yes I did [pause]
 Engin: How many?
 Fitnat: Many [laughs]
 [Pause]
 [Both start giggling]
 Engin: Off the record [Both giggle]
 Fitnat: Um. [Pause] I tell it to you afterwards.
 Fitnat: [Laughs]
 Engin: [Laughs]

Focus group one, 31 March 2008.

Fitnat's remark to Engin, "I'll tell it to you afterwards," implies that she also did not want to 'go public' and 'confess' to the exact figure of her weight gain (Focus group one; Research journal entry, 23 April 2008). I also interpreted a general discomfort with the sensitive topic through the increase in non-verbal nuances such as giggles, laughs, and pauses. Broaching the sensitive issue of body-works with Fitnat and Engin, elicits from Engin a long, drawn out response, "we can." The sensitive topic appears to touch a nerve and I sense a tension in him that is apparent through his manner and voice. As I replay the recording from focus group one, I also notice a change in Engin's syntax from the first person to the third person when he describes how others think he is "too thin" compared to his own perceptions. He is dismissive of being too thin and contrasts his own body weight with the images of starving children in Africa. Fitnat and Engin's reaction (comfort levels) to sharing sensitive body-self issues alerted me to the life experience that go beyond the confines of PE.

It is perhaps unexpected when a male admits his body-self relationship and subsequent eating disorders:

I came to my senses when I was 14 but I wasn't doing it for them [significant others], I was doing it for my own health. I had cholesterol and stuff, so I started exercising and dieting

[speaking quickly]. But, at some, in er some certain point of time, this exercise turned into excessive obsession [pause] and I had like er like bulimia and eating disorders and I sometimes used exercising to burn the calories when I binged. And it wasn't a good state...

Participant, Hilsea School, Research journal entry.

The confidant used exercise as a disciplinary regime to maintain a certain body weight, but unlike Fitnat who quit doing sports and gained weight, there was a tipping point where his relationship with exercise became obsessive. The sharing of such a personal time in his life was a very poignant moment in the focus group. Another female informed me she gained 13 kilogrammes the year before she started at Hilsea as she gave up everything (including sports) to prepare for the entrance exam (Research journal entry, 05 March 2008). The dominant physical cultural discourses offer an explanation as to how the participants' physicality is lived and embodied "based on [...] the types of body we possess (old/young, male/female, gorgeous/needs some work)" and "mark us as particular types of individuals (desirable, invisible, disgusting, irrelevant)" (Danaher *et al.*, 2000, pp. 133-134).

Fitnat rationalises her weight gain by surmising, "I guess it's because I'm not doing any sports now that I gained weight, [pause] but still" (Focus group one, 31 March 2008). Fitnat's "but still" gives a sense of the body-works process of 'letting go' - and inevitability of her weight gain with phrases such as "I went off" and "being weighty." Engin also used the expression 'let go' in chapter four, when he describes why he gave up trying to catch up with his peers in football. Arguably the governance of pupils' health, and more specifically the school population obesity levels, is being practised through school PE, and health curricula and discourses, in terms of what to eat and how to exercise. This equates to any discourse on body 'fat' as negative and elicits feelings of disgust and loathing in pupils (Burrows and Wright, 2007). As Bartky (1988, p. 82) suggests, few women can live up to the ascribed ideal body and will thus, "live much of her life with a pervasive feeling of bodily deficiency." This

constant message of self-examination is replicated through the media, dominant discourses, and technologies of Western cultures. As Foucault (1980b, p. 154) states:

[n]ormalization functions perfectly within a system of formal equality, for not only does it impose homogeneity, it also individualizes, by making it possible to measure gaps, by providing a measure of differentiation.

Notions of self-examination and surveillance technologies are reflected through the observing, judging, and examining performances of the body during PE lessons. Tuğba illuminates the body-works of her peers in practice:

[a] lot of pupils were quite conscious about body image. Girls constantly pulling their t-shirts, guys and girls checking themselves out at the mirrors, girls constantly trying to put up their hair [...] It sometimes gets quite entertaining to watch all these pupils looking at themselves and others while doing sports. It is hard not to be aware of when girls literally line up in front of the mirror before exiting the changing room.

Personal electronic communication, 23 May 2010.

Tuğba also revealed an insight into, “culture’s grip on the body” (Bordo, 1993) alongside the discourses that inform how the body looks to the self and others (Oliver and Lalik, 2001). As Foucault explains, bio-power works primarily through bodies, and hence it is important to concentrate on “those continuous and uninterrupted processes which subject our bodies, govern our gestures, dictate our behaviours” (Foucault, 1980, p. 97).

The pupils show their discomfort with their bodies and the gaze during PE lessons when they self-groom and self-check themselves in mirrors (Field notes, 19 November 2007; 28 November 2007). As mentioned in chapter one, the gaze has cultural and contextual significance in Turkey (Özyürek,

2004) but the gaze also appears to have become embedded within informal spaces such as PE lessons. Tuğba's narrative suggests that Atatürk's gaze also exists in other places and operates in the different, smaller context of body politics and the gaze of the other.

In the early workings of power, the notion of Jeremy Bentham's (1843) Panopticon (watch tower) took the form of human observation and the gaze (Foucault, 1977a). Foucault (1977a, p. 202) explains "power has its principle not so much in a person as in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes; in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up." The metaphorical Panoptic tower was permanently in view to the inmates but, as the prisoners never knew if and when they were being watched, the uncertainty acted as a form of constant self-monitoring and self-regulation. Foucault uses the practices of the penal system (micro-society) from the eighteenth and nineteenth century, both as an architectural model and as a means to understand the workings of society at large (Foucault, 1977a). As Bartky (1988, p. 63) notes, "in the perpetual self-surveillance of the inmate lies the genesis of the celebrated 'individualism' and heightened self-consciousness that are hallmarks of modern times."

Tuğba illuminates the workings of human observation and the gaze in a mixed-gender PE environment (critiqued in earlier chapters) when enacted through the dominant discourses and normalising judgements:

It was quite obvious that most of the girls preferred to wear '*esofman altı*' (a track-suit) than shorts or tights [lycra shorts]. I usually felt like I was the only girl wearing 'tights', which was uncomfortable at first because of two reasons. First, there is 'the risk' that despite how comfortable they are, wearing tights can be interpreted as me liking to show off 'flesh.' Secondly, one always gets a second gaze when s/he is the only one breaking the norm. For me, this was not much of a problem, as one gets used to gazes because there is no way to avoid

them, [e]specially when you practice sports and it is mandated that you wear tights or '*mayo*' during official matches. [...] Also, not a lot of girls were that active so it makes sense for them to keep warm in track-suit bottoms. There is also the problem of 'legs needing to be waxed/shaved.' If a girl is going to wear shorts or a skirt, it is not a written rule but there is enough social pressure to consider it as a rule. Another discomfort might be that girls are not that comfortable wearing shorts while they are having their periods, which I sometimes felt during matches when I was forced to wear tights while I was having my period

Personal electronic communication, 23 May 2010, my emphasis.

Displays of the flesh in the West are viewed differently, whereas at Hilsea School the females especially have to show modesty that is instilled by cultural discourses and normalising practices. The need for waxed or shaved legs in PE contributes to the public display of the perfect or unflawed skin/body (Kenway and Bullen, 2011), borne out of the practice of some females wearing 'tights' in PE in an endeavour to hide unshaved and/or untanned legs. Furthermore, I also note that females often choose to wear skirts instead of trousers as school uniform and this practice appears to echo the discourse in PE of shorts not being feminine (see chapter five). Drawing on Delaney's (1994, p. 169) commentary, on the meaning of hair in Turkish culture and the wearing or not wearing of a headscarf, concludes:

[t]he polarization between covering or not covering not only divides women but in the process obscures the much larger issue - how to transform the meanings of the female body and sexuality.

The risk of displaying female flesh and 'showing off' the female form during PE and sport can be juxtaposed against a moment witnessed during one extremely hot and humid PE lesson. On this particular day as I entered the

closed covered 'court' I discovered most of the football players from one team had removed their 'football' shirts to become 'skins' (Field notes, 31 October 2007). Crossley (1995) provides a perspective on the 'fleshiness' or 'fleshy' expression of sport. The display of the male torso was unexpected and I felt uncomfortable but as the seconds passed by some of the males appeared to become aware of my presence. There was an exchange of comments in Turkish, after which, two of the 'skins' team sauntered over to the bench and put their football shirts back on. I also observed males removing their own PE tops and wearing just coloured PE 'bibs' or vests in the extreme heat. The remaining 'skins' continued to play in their semi-dressed form. Nestled into the same team was a player who in contrast appears completely overdressed as he is wearing a hooded sweat top and bottoms. He hardly moves and rarely touches the ball. His style of 'play' reminded me of the 'ball avoidance' tactics (becoming invisible) mentioned by Engin in chapter four.

Despite not having access to interview any of the male group, the multiple readings of this event can be understood by the emergence of surveillance technologies and the gaze, as individuals are forever watchful of the performance of the body and others at all times.

Butler (1993, p. xii) asks the crucial question, "which bodies come to matter - and why?" There is a tension at Hilsea between the perceived value of PE, physicality, and the performance of the body when compared to other compulsory 'core' subjects (see Dobbins *et al.*, 2009; Devlin, 2009). In other subjects, such as mathematics and science, pupils are used to - and relish - the competition to extol their subject knowledge status. The tension between the cerebral and physical body may come at a price since, "some young people's bodies and subjectivities can be badly damaged in the pursuit of 'academic' and other forms of corporeal excellence" (Rich and Evans, 2009, p. 1). In fact Foucault's discourses on bio-power and legitimate knowledge become apparent in the sporting context where real athletic bodies often dominate, are prized, and have a higher status over non-athletic bodies (Shogan, 1999). The traditional PE curriculum often endorses these values

by giving credence to those bodies that are masculine, skilled, and which thrive on competition, thus subscribing to a subtle but visual discourse that symbolises which bodies matter (e.g. the bare-torso males playing football in the covered court). PE lessons at Hilsea are not considered by Tutku and Tayfun as a place to boast one's skills, nor by Engin as a subject requiring a certain attainment or level of performance as a prerequisite.

Kilbourne (2001) believes that trying to live up to the particular ideal of a perfect body image and being thin manifests a counter-reaction to the surveillance assemblage and is connected to the rise in obesity levels in the Western world. Women have literally given up or do not even try. "Consequently, in their lives, particular body shapes are recognised as being of high status and value but unattainable, so that some are unable to recognise themselves as having a body and 'self' of any value at all" (Evans *et al.*, 2008, p. 399). The performance and judgemental workings of surveillance skims over the less valued, abject body, compounded by a lack of self-worth, and puts up little fight in going under the radar to be 'invisible.' Indeed, through the extreme body-works of anorexia, bulimia, and exercise regimes, other bodies literally do become invisible.

As mapped and critiqued in chapter five, Foucault's technology of 'bio-power', or power over the body through self-regulation, instils a sense of keeping the body fit and 'healthy' through exercise and dieting (Danaher *et al.*, 2000). This form of body politics in schools has been heightened through global media discourses, the phenomenon of commercialism, and the consumerism technologies of femininity (Markula, 2003) and ethopolitics (Rose, 2000). Ethopolitics (values and beliefs) has gained credence in society since, "schools [...] have been supplemented and sometimes displaced by an array of other practices for shaping identities" (Rose, 2000, p. 1399). Pupils receive messages that reinforce the social and gendered normalising judgements replicating the technologies of the self, extolling bodily ideals and body practices. The emergence of social networking sites found on the World Wide Web, such as 'Facebook', which has become globally popular, and affects pupils at Hilsea, as a means for constructing, crafting, and 'destroying'

subjectivity. This is offset against the powerful media literacy messages that promote a particular ideal body such as those seen in teenage Satellite TV series such as 'Gossip Girl', MTV, and 'glossy' magazines.

In terms of governance, the Turkish government lifted a two year ban (October, 2010) blocking access to website technologies such as 'YouTube' for showing videos that insult Atatürk. Furthermore, media surveillance is in operation. I note television scenes of a sexual nature are censored and any forms of smoking 'covered up' in accordance with the ban on smoking in schools and public places. A viewer society (Mathiesen, 1997) parallels the rise of the mass media and its corresponding controlling effects on society and the body. Indeed, "the body has gained both attention and importance [...] in social theory as a place from which to theorize, analyze, practice, and critically reconsider the construction and reproduction of knowledge, power, class, and culture" (Pillow, 1997, p. 349).

The workings of disciplinary power are through an invisible gaze; "disciplinary power reverses these relations [...] and the objects of power – those on whom it operates – are made the most visible. [...] it is through this reversal of visibility that power now operates" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982, p. 159). This notion of the invisible gaze is important as it allows for self-examination and self-improvement. In keeping with the notion of the inward direction of the gaze towards self-examination, Paechter (2000, p. 107) argues that the female PE experience is perceived as a vehicle of bodily improvement "in order to be the object of an implicit or explicit gaze." As Young (1990, p. 154) explains, the objectified body is where a female is neither a body nor a person but an object or 'eye candy.' Alongside the ideal feminine body morphing from an hour-glass shape to an androgynous one, there has been a shift in the male form no longer being prized as a buffed, muscular body but a thin, fat-free body (Filiault, 2007 cited by Anderson, 2009, p. 90). In addition, whilst the male form may not be under such object scrutiny, it has, in the last decade, also been subjected to desires for another masculine body image (Filiault, 2007; Pope, Phillips and Olivardia, 2000).

The insidious, “power of the gaze [...] establishes an ‘economy of looks’ that distributes value throughout the social body” (Danaher *et al.*, 2000, pp. 56-57). For example, a fit, healthy, attractive body suggests discipline and control whereas obesity is a visual representation of the lack of control. Where obesity used to be a body problem, Markulu (2001, p. 160) notes that in the 1990s the body became politicised through medical and health discourses. The harnessing of such discourses reveals a “‘blame the victim’ culture” and “fat is thus interpreted as an outward sign of neglect of one’s corporeal self; a condition considered as shameful as being dirty or irresponsibly ill” (Evans, 2003, p. 96; see Murray, 2008). A risk factor associated with obesity is shared by one of the participants, “yes, yes I broke a [laughing] [...] I fell and I was so fat it broke.” Although conflating fitness with healthiness does not follow, because being fit does not necessarily mean you are healthy (Bartky, 1988; Duncan, 1994; Evans, Rich, Allwood and Davies, 2008). In this regard, Murray (2008, p. 21) suggests, “citizens are subject to a range of ‘expert’ medical knowledges that offer authoritative advice regarding lifestyle, pleasures and dangers, and that constitute, in effect, ‘technologies of the self.’”

The risk and blame culture have been put on the political PE agenda related to increased physical activity and healthy eating initiatives. For instance, in schools:

[t]he co-option of these wider health concerns into pedagogical practice places young people under constant surveillance, and presses them towards monitoring their bodies; not through coercion but by facilitating *knowledge* around ‘obesity’ related risks/issues and ‘instructing’ them on how to eat healthily, stay active and lose weight (Evans *et al.*, 2008, p. 393 emphasis in original).

Furthermore, the risks associated with obesity and high cholesterol levels are overcome by one male after, “I started being athletic, when I decided to stop being obese.” Douglas (1992, p. 22) proposes that the term risk “serves the

forensic needs of the new global culture.” Schools and society do not want to promote risk since they operate effectively by keeping control and discipline through the *status quo*. Risk is like a ‘foreign body’, something that exists outside of a culture (Douglas, 1992, p. 29). As Douglas (1992, p. 28) offers, “the dialogue about risk plays the role equivalent to taboo or sin, but the slope is tilted in the reverse direction, away from protecting the community and in favour of protecting the individual.”

From the data, it appears that the body is not enjoyed or seen in a positive light and this sense of a ‘broken body’, therefore, permeates the experience of PE at Hilsea. There are two reactions: to be preoccupied with thinness and an unattainable body image and shape, or to reject this discourse and swing the pendulum toward obesity. A negative body image perpetuates a cycle where the body is never ‘good enough’, and needs constant attention and bodywork towards improvement. Bodily subjectivity and body ‘sense’ is influenced and formed by others. McCormack (1999) and Paechter (2000, p. 106) argue that female PE places an emphasis on personal health, ‘improvement’, and ‘remodelling’ because “[m]uch of female PE is concerned with the improvement of the look of the body in order to be the object of an implicit or explicit gaze” (Paechter, 2000, p. 107). The dominant Western discourse reflects a physical currency and commodification of the body that values how you look or perform rather than what you feel or what you think. Taking Foucault’s (1977a) disciplinary mechanisms as a catalyst for a ‘bodiless reality’, Vigarello (1995, p. 163) asks “must we consider how the study of the body is always a study of something other than this body?”

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) developed the Panopticon notion of surveillance, where the Panopticon is no longer central but diffused and surveillance or the gaze has the ability to continually grow and surface through old and new fissures. Advances in surveillance technologies have since been reconsidered by Haggerty and Ericson (2000) who understand surveillance as ‘assemblage.’ For this reason, in the Panopticon and gaze analogy, surveillance assemblage and rhizomatic are left to the last since these disciplining mechanisms are representative of twenty-first century

society and reflect the physical culture, sport and PE practices which are prevalent today; of observing, judging and examining pupil's performances of the body. Foucault links the workings of power on the human body through the control methods of discipline, training, and surveillance.

The Panoptic metaphor is elaborated on by Foucault (1977a) as an effective mechanism operated by a minority in a position of authority. He associates the disciplinary forces imposed on inmates by the 'state' through governance and politics, as being transferable to other disciplinary institutions as in the workplace, hospitals, and schools. The Panoptic tower acts as "a corrective for deviant bodies" (Jones and Porter, 1994, p. 21) and "represents a view of society that makes evident the ways in which surveillance and self-policing are used to ensure social control and order" (Rail and Harvey, 1995, p. 167). For example, when the metaphor of the Panoptic watch tower is transposed into institutions such as schools it can be understood as a place, "where people (i.e. bodies) are distributed administratively in order to be watched and trained for optimal functioning" (Rail and Harvey, 1995, p. 167). The working of power is less about the governance of a population through its disciplinary surveillance, but instead acts as the cultural regulator of a subject to conform within society (Foucault, 1980a, p. 155). Below, Foucault describes how the workings of power are exercised through the gaze:

[t]here is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself (Foucault, 1980a, p. 155).

In support of Bentham's Panopticon and Foucault's workings of the gaze, 'assemblage' can be understood as a more sophisticated form of surveillance where the body is broken down by its movements through space into 'flows' which then converge to make the body more mobile, recordable, and comparable (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000). Advancements in information

technology mean there are multiple sites (e.g. CCTV, social networking sites, videos, and photographs) where a subject can now be scrutinised and gazed upon. It can leave very little left uncovered, or private about the social and physical body (see Douglas, 1970). Furthermore, where once the gaze was a form of disciplinary surveillance enacted by few on many, the term 'rhizomatic' theorises the nature of surveillance where the gaze can be directed back or crisscross to effectively level out any forms of hierarchy (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000).

Surprisingly, despite the notions of play and having fun in PE, only a couple of narratives were voiced about having a sense of achievement in the mastery of a skill, sport, or the in bodily sensations or exhilaration of their own physicality. The two exceptions are Tayfun (Focus group five, 04 June 2008), who described swimming as making him feel good, and Tutku who, after giving up playing serious basketball, reports, "I miss handling the ball in my hands" (Interview seven, 24 September 2008). Conversely, playing on a team is remembered for the requirement to make sacrifices in regards to academic studies and erosions of free time. In this setting, pleasure or bodily exhilaration in PE and sport is not a part of the sporting discourse nor was it revealed in the participants' discussions (see Burrows, Wright and Jungersen-Smith, 2002; Pronger, 2002).

I acknowledge that Foucault's theorising of the body and gender through the discourse of language is problematic in a research enquiry that maps and critiques the life experience and embodiment of the body in PE and sport. Grosz (1994) addressed the shortfalls noted in Foucault's work through her literature on female embodiment and 'corporeal feminism.' She also forwards the notion of the mind/body binary actually working in unison that she terms the 'Möbius strip' (see also Hockey and Allen Collinson, 2007). However, Kristeva (1982) theoretically unpacks the abject body and those bodies found 'in the margins' of society. Building on Kristeva, Murray (2008) applies this understanding to the repulsion of others to certain body forms or functions that cannot be 'contained' and are perceived as 'seeping out' and 'waste.' In doing so, further evocative analogies ascribed to the body are that of an

“unwelcome presence” (Cullen, 2005, p. 1, cited by Paechter, 2011, p. 315) and “a shadowy presence” (Evans, Davies, and Rich, 2008, p. 4).

Consequently, in a research enquiry surrounding body-works issues there must be caution and also careful thought as to how the body is articulated and represented.

7.3 The Spatial Politics of Physical Education

The majority of the ‘early bird’ males literally invade the PE facilities, instantly charging the space with energy and ‘scent marking’ the space with their physicality. On entering the PE facility most males need no invitation to immediately warm up or become active and, as mentioned in the proem, will then remain active until all their energy is spent. In contrast, the majority of the females take time to change and are often late in being ready for the official start of the lesson (possibly due to the long queue for the mirror?). Almost all the girls on arriving at the activity area keep to the edges, head for a place to sit, socialise, and wait for ‘instruction’ (Field notes, 24 September 2007; 26 September 2007; Personal electronic communication, 23 May 2010). The contrasting ways that the majority of participants enter and occupy PE spaces is reminiscent of Leaman’s (1983) playground study – a space dominated by males. As a result, this gendered, subjective way of being in PE lessons illustrates the dominant and normalising practices of gender, where males can physically ‘charge’ a space and the females are docile and ‘unseen.’ Hence, “relations within such spaces are based on the observation of many by the watchful eyes of a few, or on the ‘gaze’, which judges as it observes and decides what fits – what is normal – and what does not” (Howson, 2004, p. 126).

The males who play football in the closed covered court, compared to a mixed group who play badminton in a small, low-ceiling space in the sports hall, indicate the spatial politics afforded to high status PE activities and the bodies that are allowed to perform in certain PE spaces. The workings of power-knowledge in the spatial context expose how élite athletic bodies

dominate non-athletic bodies (subjection) in high status areas such as the sports hall (Marshall, 1989; Shogan, 1999) or playgrounds (Askew and Ross, 1988; Swain, 2000). The concealing of social forces is borne out through the:

[p]ractices that serve to discipline and normalize the body, such as the promotion of specific sports or fitness practices in physical education, create ideal bodies, a hierarchy of bodies (high status and low status) at the intersection of gender, race and social class (Azzarito, 2009, p. 21).

The dance room and health-related exercise room heightened the awareness of the physical; the mirrors and intimacy of the small, enclosed spaces offered the pupils a more intense self-examination of the performance of the body through the gaze. The location of the dance space allows the pupils a degree of seclusion, but the sense of privacy is juxtaposed by a floor to ceiling mirror positioned on one wall of the room. The dance room represents one of the few PE spaces where I observed females moving with a sense of agency and as transformed to physically express their femininity by wearing body sculpting, 'spaghetti' strapped tops and/or mid-riff tops to perform 'belly' or Arabesque dance movements. Nevertheless, the surveillance techniques in operation manifest when the door screen blinds are used to prevent any uninvited onlookers gazing in (Field notes, 02 January 2008).

Whilst in the field I became increasingly aware of the health-related exercise room feeling like a 'no-go zone' when occupied by a group of males doing strength training. The closed, covered court had a similar feel, but being a much larger space and without mirrors it felt less like I was intruding. However, the health-related exercise room and closed covered court are 'gendered spaces' in respect of design, décor, and equipment that emit certain subtle energies and signals (Fusco, 2005; 2006a). On entering each space it was me who was under surveillance, intruding, and there were factors 'signalling' for me to leave.

Such incidents highlighted a sense of my outsider role as researcher. Despite being a participant of the insider culture through my visual, auditory, and olfactory senses (Woodward, 2008), I was not included, in a physically active sense, in the sub-cultures or forms of discursive practice during the Year 12 PE classes. I also pondered if and how these gendered subjective spaces impact on other pupils (Research journal entry and Field notes, 12 December 2007). In comparison the closed covered football space, despite being close to the main PE facilities, acts like a screen between the male players and overt disciplinary surveillance. Conversely, the outdoor facility used for track walking is an open space situated furthest away from the main indoor PE facilities.

For this reason the pupils could also find 'blind spots' (Foucault, 1977a) or spaces to exploit during PE lessons that were less easy to regulate, discipline, and monitor which were away from the surveillance of other pupils or those in authority. Blind spots provide seclusion and invisibility for a time (Paechter, 1998) as illustrated by a female pupil confessing to sitting up a tree when her teacher could not find her! When teachers are invisible, disaffected pupils modify their actions and go off-task or become sedentary (Field notes, 20 September 2007; 24 September 2007; 19 November 2007). The PE spaces not under constant surveillance may be seen as an invitation to 'be free' as detailed in chapter six, and might enable pupils to step outside of the normalising practices to climb a tree.

The PE option programme could also help diffuse the dominant normalising practices. The pupils can use their acquired knowledge and understanding of the 'freer' surveillance to utilise the PE spaces in other creative ways. This suggests that while members of society are agents of societal values and gendered subjectivities, individuals create ways of diffusing power that can also be understood as limiting self-definitions. To counter the surveillance technologies, the pupils act creatively and find expressive spaces (Markula, 2003) to announce their refusal to comply with the normalising body and school practices, and perhaps also to signify an underlying desire to express physicality in less gendered practices.

7.4 Concluding Comments

This chapter has addressed the social forces that can affect young people's engagement and learning in the PE context through the negotiation of surveillance, physicality, and subjectivity. The Year 12 body politics (e.g. body-works issues and health discourses) are directly opposed to the notions of play and having fun in PE. Sight is the strongest of our senses and young people are constantly comparing their body with the culturally and mass media produced Western body (e.g. the idealised and air-brushed images portrayed through the powerful knowledge systems of the media). The body is a part of that ideal, based on the thin/fat axis, and its performance is a matter of ticking boxes rather than emphasising its functions and sense, well-being or feeling of using it. The body holds power and, "successful images require successful bodies, which have been trained, disciplined, and orchestrated to enhance our personal value" (Turner, 1984, p. 112). Values have changed and there is a prominent desire for perfection, and in seeking to have a successful or perfect body image, society is validating various aesthetic and medical technologies of the body, such as cosmetic surgery and gastric bands. The ultimate form of self-control and self-regulation of the body is reflected in the eating disorders of bulimia and anorexia. Conversely, the individuals who 'let go' are judged against the dominant normalising practices and discourses of 'others', or excluded due to a lack of self-regulation and discipline. In Foucault's (1977a, p. 26) words:

there may be a 'knowledge' of the body that is not exactly the science of its functioning, and a mastery of its forces that is more than the ability to conquer them: this knowledge and this mastery constitute what might be called the political technology of the body.

As noted earlier in this chapter, eating disorders are not just a feminine issue. Bordo notes, "the coexistence of anorexia and obesity reveals ...the difficulty

of finding homeostasis between the 'producer' and 'consumer' aspects of the self" (Bordo, 1995, p. 477). The body, therefore, becomes "a site of struggle" (Bordo, 1997, p. 105). When the participants make reference to the body, it is telling how frequently the body is described in ways that reference how it needs to be self-regulated, disciplined, or normalised. Although:

[i]n Foucault's work, the term 'body' speaks resistance to any attempt at identification, to any attempt to capture and contain. Body is precisely that which changes, grows, degenerates, dies, decays, that which is never stable, never fully predictable, that which is opaque, elusive, and unknown (McWhorter, 1989, p. 613).

The PE moments observed in the closed covered court and dance room provide a glimpse into how the pupils, given a legitimate space, can shake off the school-related and performative gendered body-works practices, and instead portray the physical and sexualising global media discourses espoused through music, film, television, and the Internet. The young people also illustrate how they are able to stand outside of the normalising practices of gendered performance and develop regimes of truth or creative spaces to express themselves.

CHAPTER EIGHT ~ CONCLUSION

8.1 Purpose of the Research Enquiry

The purpose of this research enquiry was to examine a relatively neglected area of physical cultural studies, namely the PE and sport experiences of Turkish school students, with a small group of Year 12 Turkish pupils acting as key witnesses. As the research enquiry developed, it built up an insight into the various issues that shape PE and sport in this specific context. The contribution to the field was through the building of knowledge and understanding of the PE setting, represented and critiqued in the contextual themed chapters.

This research enquiry produced value-relevant knowledge to inform scholars and practitioners aimed at cultivating a greater understanding of pupils' experiences and to open future avenues for discussion when revising physical education policies, curricula, and practices. Furthermore, the research enquiry added new insight into how the participants negotiate their own physicality and subjectivity in a physical education setting where Eastern and Western cultures meet, intersect, and collide. This research enquiry can therefore offer some insight into implications for teaching PE in Turkey. This research enquiry can inform scholars and practitioners who seek to gain a greater awareness of the realities of compulsory PE and sport for pupils in their senior years (Years 12-13) and can offer a more inclusive coverage of the subject area. This contributes to the knowledge base that informs educators about what pupils bring to the learning situation especially in terms of issues of the body and how the human body is intricately linked with the multifaceted construction, different forms, and the performance of gender. One way forward could be to include the PE realities of pupils in the process of developing the PE curriculum and informing PE department policies. Following on from van Ingen and Sykes (2003, p. 2), an increase of awareness of body-works has the potential "to inform and disrupt current practices in physical and health education."

A significant conclusion to emerge from the research enquiry was the desire of the participants to reclaim the fun and play elements of PE. The pupils' activity choices also showed a shift away from skill-based lesson content to participation in game-oriented or individual options that are more sociable, self-paced, unstructured, and recreational in nature. The change in lesson structure and content delivery was evidently favourably perceived by most participants, since the repetitive delivery of a skill-based curriculum had become boring and broader activity choices provided more fun, a sense of ownership for their learning, and a play-based interpretation of PE. Furthermore, the perceived loose 'discipline' of PE was also valued, as it operated in contrast to other 'academic' subjects that are characterised by the mantra of "sit, don't speak, listen" (Özge, female participant). However, when the 'old' regulations of lesson structure and 'discipline' were not enforced the lessons for some pupils started to become a constraint and 'boring.' Offering PE options provided a legitimate space for males in particular to explore less traditional activities such as health-related exercise (i.e. cardiovascular and strength training). However, despite the 'options' programme offering more choice, the full range of activity choices were rejected by the majority of the females and this disaffection, "reinforces a silent and subtle gendered status quo" (Rich, 2004, p. 233).

Whilst the PE options programme allowed for and gave way to pupils expressing a feeling of 'being free' and 'more relaxed', the lessons may not have necessarily directly affected the young peoples' emotional, physical, and developmental milestones. The PE options programme could offer something more than just the expectation of relaxation, and could provide pupils with avenues to develop their physicality, mastery of the body, physical thrills, 'risks', and alternative masculinities and femininities in a safe environment.

There were references to the mind/body binary and of PE helping the participants to relax and alleviate stress. However, what is perhaps more

telling are the inferences to the docile and abject body not meeting the mark and breaking down, with participants mentioning “I suck at ...”, ‘being a burden’ (implying that the rest of the team having to ‘carry’ him or her), breaking a limb, or body-works issues. In fact the ‘broken’ body is referred to when the participants feel they are too tired, sleep deprived, or too hungry to engage effectively in a PE class. Nevertheless, being free and more relaxed can be accomplished through practice, hard physical challenges, and celebrating—the feeling of being ‘totally spent’ at the end of a lesson. PE acts as the regulator of the body (Danaher *et al.*, 2000) but Turkish culture appears to recognise physicality in different ways to the West, and if compared to the USA, there was no ‘jock’ culture present at Hilsea School. At one level, the Year 12 body appeared to be a metaphor for the regulated, non-feeling “body as a machine.” Interestingly, at the same time, there appears to be an emphasis on consumption and ‘individuality’ in gaining the ‘right’ body and these are hallmarks of a Westernised neoliberal body ethic.

As the young people recalled their engagement in the lessons, the focus group discussions exposed an environment where certain normalising gendered practices permeated in and through the PE activities. The participants exposed how pockets of resistance and/or more creative approaches to the learning process can challenge or destabilise dominant gendered practices (see Foucault, 2000; Wellard, 2012). Furthermore, the young people, when given a platform, could share their disquiet against school policies and practices that appeared unjust (equity and access) with a desire for betterment or change (Andrews, 2008). However, a few participants had started to negotiate and challenge these constraints. Consequently the pupils’ who felt they could take the opportunity to step out of the dominant discourses of gender and experience a different performance of gender, would, hopefully be more knowledgeable and informed in the choices they make about their physical cultural environment.

Acknowledging each participant’s narrative can also be valuable in understanding and reflecting upon their own PE learning experiences. In hindsight I could have built a follow-up interview with all the young people

into the methodological framework and/or asked each participant to keep a reflective journal. As a result, by opening further dialogues in the shared focus group discussions, this process may have been valuable in contributing towards a greater understanding, self-acceptance, or re-evaluation of the “multidimensional relationship” and “to others, to things and to ourselves” (Rabinow, 1994, p. xxxi). All the focus groups were mixed but as I reflect on the focus group discussions, single-gendered focus groups may have been a more empowering environment to discuss culturally sensitive topics. If the focus groups had been in single-gendered groups, the participants might have felt more comfortable when discussing topics surrounding culture, ethnicity, class, sexuality, religion, or politics. Nonetheless, each participant in the focus groups had the advantage of hearing each other’s points of view about the PE topics raised, and such an experience may have been an important conduit for betterment strategies, entitlement, change, and different ways of seeing and doing PE at Hilsea School. Indeed, “key experiences, discourses and embodied practices and dispositions play a key part in valorizing certain discourses with PE, and the implications for these in terms of positioning others” as many participants in sport “still position sporting performance as central” (Rich, 2004, pp. 233-234).

8.2 Implications, Self-Reflexivity and Learning

The opportunity to conduct a qualitative physical cultural studies sensibility approach towards the research enquiry involved “wrestling with the angels” (Hall, 1992), as I wished to do justice to the theoretical underpinnings, theoretical framework, and methodological tool-box available. I realise that without such close access to the setting, I would not have witnessed, heard, or been a part of the rich personal narratives and inferences shared by these young people.

The privilege of hearing first-hand the focus groups and ‘off-the-record’ conversations made me aware of the emotional and psychological challenges associated with young people and the developing body. The participants confided very personal information about their relationship with

their body, both to the focus group participants and to me as a researcher and known teacher, concerning sexual orientation and body-works issues. When the pupils were given a space to voice their experiences, it illuminated the challenges they face on an everyday basis and highlighted how important the PE curriculum can be in helping them to grow and develop. Consequently, through an increased awareness of pupils' on-going life experiences, when designing the architecture of a PE curriculum, schools could benefit from a better understanding of the local cultural contexts and social forces.

The Turkish Head of Year 12 had forewarned me to prepare for potential sensitive issues being discussed by the participants, and in this regard I decided to address any issues that arose and how best to respond to them on a case by case basis. To ensure anonymity and protect confidentiality, I altered the participants' names, and identifying features of the PE and sport facilities by reducing the pixel size of photographs, and rendering faces and making distinctive clothing brands or labels blurred/fuzzy (see Harcourt *et al.*, 2011). Within the research boundaries of trust, the participants and I shared moments of sadness, surprise, and confessions. My dual role as researcher and teacher meant I also had to respect confidentiality issues raised by one participant. When deeply moving issues of negative body talk were shared I followed up with the participants to check if they needed or had support. I acknowledge that confessing in school to their peers took courage, was a risk, and may have long-term consequences for the rest of their schooling. Lastly, I will seek advice in respect of the ownership of the data used in the research enquiry.

Critical self-reflexivity allows theory, practice, and experience to connect and make more meaningful sense. The research process had to give equal account to the research context: setting, culture, and participants, alongside my own subjectivity of conducting the research enquiry. In acknowledging and recognising that my own bias, prejudices, and subjectivities may have had an impact upon the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the research enquiry, the challenge was for me to sit alongside the Turkish

young people and understand the realities of PE and sport from their perspective. Their narratives gave me a new insight into the 'sub-text' of everyday PE. By recognising both the individual spectrum of subjectivities and the collective subjectivities of the young people, the purpose was not to find answers, to make generalisations, or to offer recommendations. Instead, by drawing together the commonalities and differences of the participants, the research enquiry offers a cautious representation.

Being in the field for nine months allowed me to become more sensitised and attuned to the group dynamics of the three PE classes. In the field, however, it was impossible for me to observe the entire PE setting at any one time. I discarded the idea of tracking pupils during the participant observations as this felt too intrusive. Consequently, early on I had to make decisions and follow my hunches as to where to go, whom to observe in the field, and which snapshots to record. It thus became important to build, 'crystallise', and synthesise my observations with the theoretical literature that was explicated in the first instance through a Foucauldian lens. Nevertheless, this also left me pondering if I had missed 'more important' events elsewhere, especially when a colleague at the end of a class would exclaim, "You should have seen ..." or "x, y or z did this."

Importantly, early on in the field I borrowed a green combat jacket to wear to a lesson as I observed a group using the running track. Afterwards, as I walked in with the group at the end of the lesson, a female pupil commented, "You look very serious in that jacket" (Field notes, 12 September 2007). The pupil's feedback stressed the importance of 'impression management' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 65) and subsequently I was mindful of my own physicality and 'participation.' However, I also acknowledged that making a *faux pas* in the field could also be a way of gathering additional information and insights (Coffey, 1999; Gallmeier, 1988).

As I accumulated a mass of data, I had to decide what hunches and themes to take forward and this process involved an ebb and flow of ethical

decisions. The fluidity of the ethical process became apparent through the outline of the informed consent form (see appendix two), compared to how the research process unfolded in reality. Ethically I also became aware that some of my colleagues needed reassuring that I was observing the pupils and not them. Furthermore, my role in the field utilising participant observation took on new relevance, as the pupils' own experiences of surveillance and the gaze became revealed. I also became more acutely aware of the surveillance gaze impinging on my own access to the various PE classrooms. However, a close reading of the data confirmed the PE and sport themes that were to be represented and then critiqued in the four themed chapters.

The feedback I gleaned from the focus groups informed me that there are advantages and disadvantages to conducting single-gender or mixed focus groups. In the end, the size and gender mix of the focus groups was dictated by logistics and the focus groups occurred on the same day as the participants had their PE class. In fact, all the focus groups were mixed, but as I reflect on the focus group discussions, single-gendered focus groups may have been a more empowering environment to detail the research enquiry topics. However, mixed focus groups are more in keeping with Hilsea's learning environment. Conversely, if the focus groups had been in single-gendered groups, more culturally sensitive topics might have been voiced to do with class, sexuality, religion, or politics and if the participants had first raised these, I would have felt more comfortable 'probing' deeper.

Drawing upon the participants' own PE and sport subjectivities, the research enquiry articulates normalising practices of the self and the performance of the body and gender in PE and sport. The technologies of the self expressed through the ways the pupils transformed themselves were offset against notions of the abject, docile body that were alluded to through the moments containing the young peoples' silences, pauses, and omissions. Surprisingly, despite the participants desire to have fun and the play factor of PE lessons, only rare reference was made to having a sense of achievement in the

mastery of a skill, sport, or the pleasure of being active, being physical, and using their bodies. It was also equally telling how few of the participants appeared to have embodied participating in sport as a long-term or life-long activity.

This research enquiry suggests that pupils want to have fun in PE, but that their cultural background limits their bodily experience of fun. In this school and cultural setting, pupils were concerned more about pursuing the gateways into educational, social, and economic gains and less so in physical rewards. However, this avenue of investigation was beyond the scope of this research enquiry. Despite only a few negative comments (this may be a reflection of my association with the research topic and the participants' desire to please?) there were equally few positive references to how PE had made the pupils feel, or of the use of emotive language such as 'I love', 'I hate', expressions of pleasure, or euphoria. As a result, in this context the intrinsic rewards or expressions of positive bodily sensations from engaging in PE also appear limited.

Both Sezen (chapter five) and Tuğba (chapter seven) referred to hair as being problematic in PE, and such narratives alerted me to sensitive cultural issues surrounding the body. As Delaney (1994) explained in chapter one, hair has a significant gendered meaning in Turkish culture, and may take on more importance in institutions, such as at Hilsea, where headscarves, scarves, hats, and facial hair are not permitted. Furthermore, "in Turkish society hair is an emotionally charged symbol with different meanings that depend on gender, age, class, political commitments, and religious sentiments" (Delaney, 1994, p. 160; Sariisik, 2013).

A number of limitations of the research enquiry were identified. Firstly, I am not a Turkish native speaker and my hesitation in conducting an enquiry as an 'outsider' with second language learners remained with me throughout the research. At every juncture of the research enquiry, the methodological approach called for constant critical self-reflexivity. The project utilised a small research enquiry sample—only 19 participants from a cohort of over

180 volunteered to be a part of the enquiry. Lastly, there was little exploration and analysis of issues to do with social class.

In many respects the tenets of the themes that emerged from Hilsea School typified the research findings that have already been illuminated by studies undertaken in Western contexts (Connell, 1989; Evans, Rich, Allwood and Davies, 2008; Hardman and Marshall, 2005; Paechter, 1998, 2000, 2007; Penney and Evans, 1999, 2005; Wright, 1997). While on the surface, the analysis appears to reaffirm the commonalities and challenges inherent in the subject of PE, there is another level of complexity as the Hilsea pupils' negotiated unique cultural, religious, social, and bodily expectations in their experiences of PE. When offering mixed PE, practitioners can look for gender commonalities rather than differences. In particular, performances of the female body may be inhibited when girls may not wish to wear shorts and bare 'flesh' due to their cultural ethnicity that traditionally requires Muslim women to show modesty in their dress (see Benn and Dagkas, 2006). Undertaking a physical cultural studies research enquiry in PE has also uncovered concerns surrounding inequity and injustice (Andrews, 2008).

It appears important in cultural settings such as Hilsea, where a good education is valued above an investment in physical culture, to provide pupils with a regular time and space to be physically active within a legitimate and safe environment. The body has become political, particularly in the fields of health and education, because others have involved "themselves in other people's lives" (Foucault, 1980a, p. 62). Furthermore, keeping healthy for the good of society is not only a political issue but also steps into moral and social domains (Danaher *et al.*, 2000, p. 56). As Murray (2008, p. 129) puts forward, "we are irrevocably constructed by the aesthetic ideals of others and the world" and by "cultivating oneself in relation to an aesthetic ideal" individuals are "always reproducing the dominant ways of being" (Murray, 2008, p. 133). It therefore becomes incumbent for any serious study of PE and sport to take the body seriously, for "bodily practices such as physical education and sport are linked to political forces and indeed to the building of the modern state" (Harvey and Sparks, 1991, p. 186).

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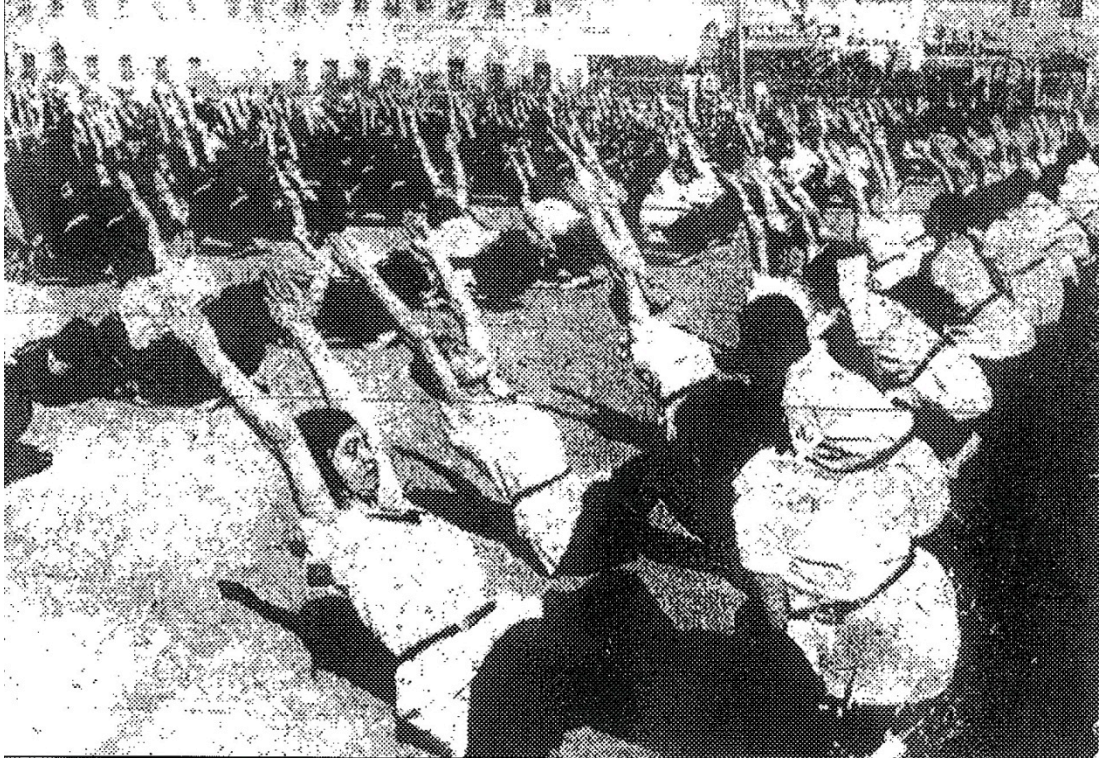
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: 1930s 'CALISTHENIC' PHOTOGRAPH



Bali, (2009, p. 73).

APPENDIX TWO: INFORMED CONSENT FORM - ENGLISH VERSION

Research Student: Elizabeth Molton, EdD candidate

Title of Research: The Physical Education Experience: A Contextual Case Study of Learning in Turkey or Physical education learning from the perspective of Turkish pupils.

Your participation is requested in a research project, '*Physical education learning from the perspective of Turkish pupil*.' The purpose of the research enquiry is to investigate the impact on pupil experiences and outcomes in the physical education programme. I wish to find out about sport and PE in Turkey and how this relates to the PE and sport curriculum at Hilsea and how pupils perceive their own learning in PE and sport. (It is believed the project will raise a multitude of questions with regard to, what pupils are taking away from the physical education experience and, in so doing, in what social context are they learning?) To understand physical education in Turkey, the research will focus on a group of Year 12s pupils leading into their graduation in Year 13. Although generalisations from the research are unlikely, at a local level the research enquiry findings may even take on the form of 'A Physical Education Survival Guide' for pupils.

As a Year 12s you have been selected as possible participant in this study because you will soon be graduating from the school. The research will take the form of focus group interviews and possible follow up interview. All information will be treated in the strictest of confidence and no proper names will be used in the research write up. Participants can withdraw from the research at any time. The interviews will be tape-recorded. Any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me:

Both guardian and pupil are asked to read and sign an informed consent form.

You and your child are agreeing whether or not to participate. Your signatures indicate that you have agreed to participate after reading the information provided above.

I acknowledge that I have read a personal copy of this consent form.

Name of Parent / Guardian

Name of Pupil

Date

Signature

Date

Signature

Thank you for your time and participation.

February 2008

APPENDIX THREE: THE RESEARCH ENQUIRY PARTICIPANTS

INTERVIEWS	GENDER	PUPIL TYPE	TURKISH PSEUDONYMS
31 March 2008			
FOCUS GROUP ONE	Female	Day Pupil	Fitnat
FOCUS GROUP ONE	Male	Day Pupil	Engin
22 May 2008			
FOCUS GROUP TWO	Female	Weekly Boarder	Tuğba
FOCUS GROUP TWO	Female	Day Pupil	Özge
FOCUS GROUP TWO	Male	Day Pupil	Fikret
FOCUS GROUP TWO	Female	Day Pupil	Duygu
26 May 2008			
FOCUS GROUP THREE	Male	Day Pupil	Bora
FOCUS GROUP THREE	Male	Weekly Boarder	Fuat
FOCUS GROUP THREE	Female	Day Pupil	Sevinç
FOCUS GROUP THREE	Female	Day Pupil	Demet
FOCUS GROUP THREE	Female	7-Day Boarder	Neşe
28 May 2008			
FOCUS GROUP FOUR	Male	Day Pupil	Zeki
FOCUS GROUP FOUR*	Female	Day Pupil	Tutku
FOCUS GROUP FOUR	Female	Day Pupil	Melek
FOCUS GROUP FOUR*	Female	Day Pupil	Sezen
04 June 2008			
FOCUS GROUP FIVE	Female	7-Day Boarder	Nuray
FOCUS GROUP FIVE	Male	Day Pupil	Tayfun
05 June 2008			
INTERVIEW SIX*	Female	Day Pupil	Sezen
24 September 2008			
INTERVIEW SEVEN*	Female	Day Pupil	Tutku
May 2008			
PARTICIPANT	Male	Day Pupil	Ender

* Indicates follow-up face-to-face semi-structured interviews participants

APPENDIX FOUR: FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW SEMI-STRUCTURED PROMPTS

Introductions: Name, age, background

Please can each person say a little about films, hobbies, role models they like?

Thinking about when younger, were you active, encouraged to participate in sport? Has that changed? Why? Influences: family, friends.

Write down three adjectives or phrases you might use to describe your experiences of physical education. Share and discuss.

Is there anything within the curriculum that's put you off participating, being active e.g. School Policy, Physical Education rules, Physical Education Programme, Time-tabling, Groupings, Facilities?

What you might take away from the PE experience?

Other questions?

Would you like to ask anything, add, make any other comments or offer feedback about the focus group?

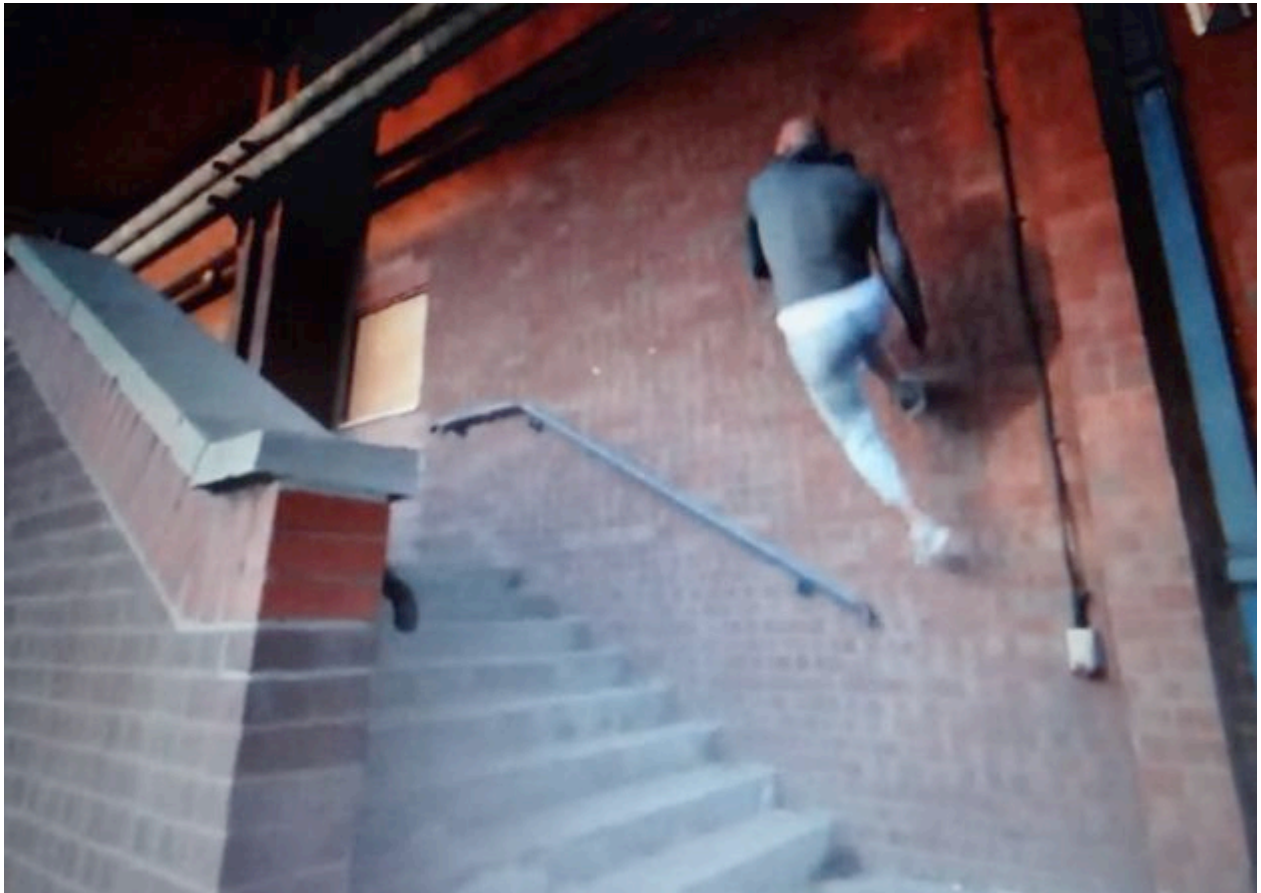
APPENDIX FIVE: SAMPLE OF FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW WRITTEN RESPONSES

<p>fun & active</p>	<p>Variety (various sports) Soccer field</p> <p>Not Not Enough Time to do all</p> <p>Not that</p> <p>Nice Gym</p> <p>Adventure Training</p>
<p>(More) Fun then one would expect to be</p>	<p>many options 26.05.08 free fun too strict about having a break there needs to be more PE lessons</p>

APPENDIX SIX: CODED EMERGING THEMES AND SUB-THEMES

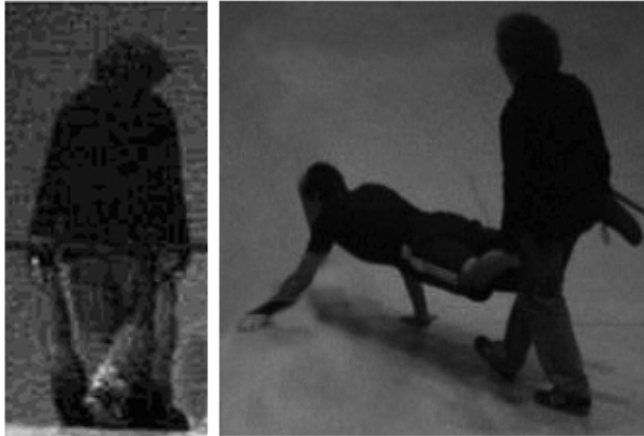
THEMES	SUB-THEMES	CODE
GENDER ISSUES [GI]		
	GENDER-INTEGRATED	GI-GI
	GIRLS	GI-FEM
	BOYS	GI-MAL
	'ISMS'	GI-ISMs
BODY / MIND ISSUES [BMI]		
	PSYCHOLOGY	BMI-PYSC
	PHYSICAL	BMI-PHY
	HEALTH	BMI-HEA
	EATING	BMI-EAT
	WEIGHT	BMI-WEI
	EMOTIONS	BMI-EMO
CULTURAL ISSUES [CI]		
	SCHOOL	CI-SCH
	ENVIRONMENT	CI-ENV
	EDUCATION	CI-ED
	FAMILY	CI-FAM
	CLASS [ETHNICITY]	CI-CLA
	GOVERNMENT	CI-GOV
	POLITICS	CI-POL
	RELIGION	CI-REG
	WEST	CI-WES
	GLOBAL	CI-GLO
	ECONOMIC	CI-ECO
SOCIAL ISSUES [SI]		
	FRIENDS	SI-FRI
	HAVING FUN	SI-FUN
	SOCIALISING	SI-SOC
	RELATIONS	SI-MOM
	BORING	SI-BOR
	LANGUAGE / NVC	SI-LANG
	TIME	SI-TIM
EMERGING CAUSAL LINKS [CL]		
	CHOICES	CL-CHO
	OPINION	CL-OPI
QUERIES [QU]		
	SURPRISES	QU-SUR
	PUZZLES	QU-PUZ
	CONTROVERSY	QU-CON
	UNCERTAINTY	QU-UNC

APPENDIX SEVEN: DAMIEN WALTERS 2010 FREE RUNNING SCREENSHOT



Walters, D. (2010) www.lepump1@hotmail.com

APPENDIX EIGHT: 'BARROW-BOYS' PHOTOGRAPHS



APPENDIX NINE: 'LONG DONKEY' PHOTOGRAPH

